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ART. I.—1. *The Communion of Saints.* An attempt to illustrate the true Principles of Christian Union. By H. B. Wilson, B. D. Oxford. 1851.

2. *An Introduction to the Study of Dogmatic Theology.* By the Rev. Robert Owen, B. D., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. London. 1858.

IT is difficult for Catholics to understand how discourses in themselves apparently so feeble as the Bampton Lectures of Mr. Wilson, could have produced a sensation in such a place as Oxford. Even now that Mr. Wilson has become famous as one of the writers of "Essays and Reviews," we are as unable to see anything particularly striking in these discourses as when we first read them. The author, indeed, tells us plainly that he does not believe in the "Communion of Saints," in the sense in which these words were introduced into the Creed. "When the clause is first found.....it is expounded, not in reference to the general community of interests which belong to Christian people, but in regard to supposed particular relations between the living saints and the dead." p. 14. It implied "a hope that the living might be of avail in some way to the dead," p. 16. "It was also supposed that the dead could benefit the living," p. 17. "Far different from such views are those which are presented to us in Protestant theology," p. 19. As a substitute for the old doctrine, he proposes "the true principles of Christian

union;" instead of believing in the "Communion of Saints," he believes in "Multitudinism," as contrasted with "sectarianism." Mr. Wilson has peculiarities of style and expression, but we think his best things have been said before him.

Mr. Owen belongs to a totally different school of theology. He sympathises to a considerable extent with the old doctrine, but is evidently afraid of the truth, like a certain old divine whom he quotes, as it seems to us, with a somewhat malicious intention. Pearson, in his celebrated work "on the Creed," says, "The saints of God living in the Church of Christ are in communion with all the saints departed out of this life and admitted to the presence of God," but reserves for a note this important fact—"This is that part of the Communion of Saints which those of the ancients especially insisted upon, who first took notice of it in the Creed." Pearson proceeds—"But what they do in heaven in relation to us on earth particularly considered, or what we ought to perform in reference to them in heaven, beside a reverential respect and study of imitation, is not revealed unto us in the Scriptures, nor can be concluded by necessary deductions from any principle of Christianity." Mr. Owen shows by a number of short quotations from ancient ecclesiastical writers, that there was no doubt whatever as to what was meant by the "Communion of Saints" in the minds of those who "first took notice of it in the Creed;" but he is careful not to say whether he agrees with them or not. When he undertakes to prove that the Invocation of Saints grew gradually out of a belief in this Intercession, we cannot admit that he is at all successful in producing evidence of the *gradualness*; and when he appeals to the fact that all the authorities quoted by Petavius are Post-Nicene, we must beg leave to ask him how many *Ante*-Nicene invocations of the second and third Persons of the Holy Trinity can be quoted.

There is, perhaps, no portion of the "Apostles' Creed" on which Protestants of all denominations differ so much, not only from the Catholic Church, but from all the ancient divisions of Christendom, as the clause about which we have been speaking. The Catholic interpretation (both dogmatical and practical) of this clause is not different in principle from that of the separated Greek Church, nor was it ever disputed by Monophysites or Nestorians.

And, in spite of the paucity of documents which throw light upon the practices of the Arian, Novatianist, and Donatist communions, there is evidence sufficient to show that even these ancient heretics agreed in this point with their more orthodox contemporaries. Only rare and isolated cases can be pointed out of revolt against the universal belief of Christendom in the efficacy of Prayers for the Dead, and in the lawfulness of the "cultus Sanctorum."

Mr. Owen must be aware that even his numerous citations give but the faintest notion of the extent and fervour of the devotion to the saints in the Church of the Fathers. The only English book in which something like justice is done to the historical *fact*, though from a hostile point of view, is Mr. Isaac Taylor's "Ancient Christianity;" and yet even this book contains but a comparatively small amount of the evidence which might have been produced. There are many rare works which bear upon the subject but are never quoted. Such, for instance, is the work of Basil of Seleucia upon St. Thecla, which we think would be startling even to persons prepared by the reading of "Ancient Christianity."

To the historical enquirer, who knows anything of the laws of his science, one circumstance connected with this devotion to the saints is of the most decided importance. We find the same doctrine prevailing, not only in every part of the Church of the Fathers, from the extreme East to the extreme West, but everywhere in the same form. It matters not whether we look to the Balearic Isles, the valley of the Nile, the banks of the Tigris, or the shores of Pontus. The hymns of Synesius give the same evidence for Cyrenaica as those of Prudentius for Spain. The ascetics of the Thebais, the rival doctors of Alexandria and Antioch, the monks and the courtiers of Constantinople, the rustic populations of Africa, which were ignorant of the Latin tongue, the inhabitants of northern Gaul, men differing from each other as much as it is possible for men to differ in race, manners, language, and ideas, are found teaching doctrines and practising rites as unmistakeably identical, and as unmistakeably derived from a single origin as were the Doric rites of Apollo in Delphi, Cnosus and Delos.

Of the different Protestant hypotheses on the subject, that which ascribes the origin of the "cultus Sanctorum"

to diabolical agency is the least absurd in a scientific point of view; because, although it sets aside science altogether, the origin it assigns to the Catholic doctrine and practice is at least sufficiently ubiquitous to meet the historical difficulties of the case. But the more commonly received theory that Christianity was corrupted by heathenism, is consciously or unconsciously based upon the exploded and unscholarlike hypothesis of one definite oecumenical heathenism, from which all the first Christian populations were converted. Most books written before the present century imply the existence in ancient times of such an oecumenical polytheism. It is within the memory of the present generation, that the distinctions were first drawn, in this part of the world at least, between Hermes and Mercury, or between Artemis and Diana. Even persons who really know better still speak and write as if the gods of ancient Latium had been worshipped by the natives of Egypt or of Assyria. It is true that both Greeks and Romans identified all foreign divinities with their own; but every learned man knows that they often did so on the most superficial grounds, and that conclusions founded on an uncritical admission of classical authorities are simply fallacious. Greeks and Romans gave the names of their gods to the gods of India, and would undoubtedly have done so to the gods of Mexico or Peru. In reality, the Polytheistic systems of ancient times, like those still existing in our days, were so utterly unlike each other that they may be said to have had nothing in common except those notions which are the necessary logical consequences of a belief in supernatural beings powerful for good or evil. When people tell us, therefore, that Christianity was corrupted by heathenism, they forget that heathenism was different in different parts of the Christian world, and particularly so in those classes of society from which the great mass of converts were derived. The Celtic religions had nothing in common with the Egyptian. The Christian populations of Spain were subjected to very different polytheistic influences from those which affected the Christian populations of Armenia or Asia Minor. And what heathen system can be supposed to explain the identity, on all matters of doctrine, of *Aethiopic, Syrian, and Italian Christianity?* Yet, documents in many languages prove that, wherever Christianity is found in the ages of which we are speaking, one and the

same type of doctrine and ritual existed. Even the sects which had separated from the Catholic Church resembled it in every particular except that which had led to their separation from it.

These remarks apply to Patristic Christianity in general, and to the doctrine of the Communion of Saints in particular. No one form of heathenism existed throughout the countries where this doctrine was held and the practices founded upon it exercised. It is equally true that no form of heathenism had anything resembling these practices otherwise than in a very superficial way. But we are not now going to enter upon this question. We intend in this present article to treat of another branch of the subject which we believe will be new to many of our readers, and far from devoid of interest. We are going to appeal to the experience of other monotheistic religions,—of the only religions, in fact, which history testifies to have shared with Christianity the belief in one God, and its zeal against idolatry of every kind. We shall show that practices based upon a doctrine very similar to the Catholic one of the Communion of Saints, are, and have been, from very early times, characteristic of those religions. And we believe that very important historical conclusions may be derived from the evidence we are about to produce.

We begin with Mohammedanism.

It is a vulgar error, though shared by many who think themselves well-informed, to suppose that the religion of Mohammed discourages or forbids devotion to departed saints. We well remember how some of the leading English journals laboured, at the beginning of the late war, to prove that even in a religious point of view, the English nation ought rather to sympathise with Turks than with Russians, the latter being saint-worshippers, whereas the Turks are as jealous as the most determined Protestant could wish against anything that tends to give God's glory to any created being. It might have been added that they even err in excess, since the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is inconsistent with a monotheism as rigid as theirs.

The abstract principles of Mohammedanism are indeed all that a Protestant could wish as to the unity of God, the incommunicableness of His attributes, and the sin of giving Him companions. But it does not follow that the cultus of saints is inconsistent with these principles, and the proof

that it is not inconsistent is the fact of their peaceful coexistence in every part of Islam. But even more grave authorities than London journalists have fallen into the same error. "The votaries of Ali," says Gibbon, "have indeed consecrated the memory of their hero, his wife and his children, and some of the Persian doctors pretend that the divine essence was incarnate in the person of the Imams; but their superstition is universally condemned by the Sonnites, and their impiety has afforded a seasonable warning against the worship of saints and martyrs." Other writers better informed as to the actual matter-of-fact, are led by their Protestant prejudices to look upon the Mohammedan saint-worship as a corruption which the Prophet would have condemned. Let us first look at the facts.

The Mohammedan religion is professed by people of widely different races disseminated over a large portion of the globe. The Turk, the Afghan, the Persian, the Malay, the Bedouin, and the Berber, have little in common besides their religion. What they all hold in common is most certainly genuine Mohammedanism, even if it be not contained *totidem verbis* in the Koran: when we bear in mind the rapid extension of the religion at an early period, and the fanatical spirit with which its adherents have ever interpreted the words of their Prophet—"He who imitateth a people and followeth its practices, is counted as belonging to it,"—as a warning against borrowing even the most trifling practice from their neighbours, so that bells are rejected as Christian and trumpets as Jewish, it is impossible to imagine that a religious innovation fundamentally opposed to the spirit of their religion, could have been introduced without exciting the most violent outburst of opposition from every quarter of the Mohammedan world.

We are not going to discuss the quarrel between the Wahabees and their orthodox opponents; the few authorities we shall quote will be sufficient for the majority of our readers, who may rely upon them as giving an accurate view of the Mohammedan idea of the intercommunion subsisting between the living and the dead. We begin with the evidence of European travellers.

The traveller *Niebuhr* repeatedly asserts that Mohammedans do not *invoke* their saints, but by *invocation* he probably means divine worship, for he tells many stories in

which direct invocation is either distinctly mentioned or implied.

There is rarely, he says,* a village of the Sunnites or the Schiites in which there is not the tomb of some pretended saint. The people love to be buried by these tombs, and their wish is often gratified at a great expense. The presence of a saint's tomb has often occasioned the erection of a town, sometimes in a desert spot without wood or water. Mokha, he tells us, owes its origin to the Sheikh Schadeli, to whom the first use of coffee is ascribed.

"Schadeli is not only the patron of the city of Mokha—he is the patron of all Sunnite keepers of *cafés*. At Basra and Bagdad, and probably all Sunnite towns, all artisans have their particular patron. Salman Pâk, who is said to have been the friend and barber of Mahammed, is the patron of barbers, and who even at the present time go to visit his tomb on certain days at El Madeien, once a celebrated town, of which the ruins alone remain, and are visible at a mile's distance from Bagdad. Daud, or David, is the patron of blacksmiths. Nebbi Schid is the patron of weavers, Ibrahim el Chalil of masons and cooks. Nebbi Edris of tailors, Habib, whose tomb is in the territory of Bagdad, of cabinet makers. Tinkers have Nebbi Gorgis, cobblers Muhmet Ibn el Jernani, builders Mohammed el Dsjond."

In Niebuhr's time the most extensive coffee trade in Yemen, and probably in the world, was carried on at Beit el Fakih. This town owed its origin to the tomb of Scheikh Achmed ibn Musa, who has a mosque outside the town, and in honour of whom a festival is celebrated during three days.

The following is one of the miracles ascribed to him.

"A Turkish Pacha had been more than twenty years captive in Spain, and bound by heavy chains to two thick stones. After he had fruitlessly invoked different saints, he at length remembered the celebrated Achmed, and invoked him likewise. The saint thrust out his hand from his tomb, and at the same instant the Pacha arrived at Beit el Fakih, from Spain, with his chains and the heavy stones. It is said that this miracle took place in a night when they were celebrating the feast of Achmed, and consequently in presence of many witnesses, and the stones as well as the chains

* See his *Voyage en Arabie*, vol. ii. pp. 181, 182, 208, 220, 254, and following.

of the Pacha are still shown near the sepulchre of the supposed saint."

Niebuhr tells another story of a man who had lost his ass. He told his distress to the workmen engaged near the tomb of the saint, Telha ibn Obeid Allah.

"The workmen sympathized with his loss, and united their prayers with his to the saint, that he would send back the ass. Thereupon they saw the animal returning at full gallop towards the tomb of Telha, as if some one had been behind him, driving with a whip."

M. d'Ohsson, in his "*Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman,*" mentions several saints of the imperial family.

"A general opinion ascribes miracles to them all, and to this day it is believed that sick persons, who piously visit their tombs, and make use of the earth which covers or surrounds their burial-place, are healed of their infirmities.

"Each province, each town has, so to speak, its own saints. Everywhere one pays them pious honours, they are invoked, their intercession and succour are asked with prayers, almost always accompanied by sacrifices and alms. The Sultans themselves are very diligent in accomplishing these duties of devotion at the time of their accession to the throne, and in all public or private calamities they visit the tombs of their ancestors, and those of the principal saints whose ashes repose at Constantinople. Those of the monarchs who have commanded their armies in person never left the capital without having first solemnly implored the aid of those blessed souls by offerings, prayers, and largesses in behalf of the poor. It was their maxim to observe the same rule when passing through a town celebrated on account of the relics of some saint."—*Tom. i. p. 101.*

The following extracts are taken from *Burckhardt's "Travels in Syria and the Holy Land."*

"Upon the summit of the mountain near the spot where the road to Wady Mousa diverges from the great road to Akaba, are a small number of small heaps of stones, indicating so many sacrifices to Haroun. The Arabs, who make vows to slaughter a victim to Haroun, think it sufficient to proceed as far as this place, from whence the dome of the tomb is visible in the distance, and after killing the animal, they throw a heap of stones over the blood which flows to the ground."—p. 420.

"The sun had already set when we arrived in the plain—it was too late to reach the tomb, and I was excessively fatigued; I therefore hastened to kill the goat in sight of the tomb at a spot

where I found a number of heaps of stones placed there as a token of as many sacrifices in honour of the saint. While I was in the act of slaying the animal, my guide exclaimed, aloud, 'O Haroun, look upon us! it is for you we slaughter this victim. O Haroun, protect us and forgive us! O Haroun, be content with our good intention, for it is but a lean goat! O Haroun, smooth our paths, and praise be to the Lord of all creatures!' This he repeated several times, after which he covered the ground with a heap of stones," &c.—p. 430. See also next page.

Burckhardt, after this, visits the tomb of Sheikh Szaleh.

"The coffin of the Sheikh is deposited in a small rude stone building, and is surrounded by a thin partition of wood, hung with green cloth, upon which several prayers are embroidered. On the walls are suspended silk tassels, handkerchiefs, ostrich eggs, camel halters, bridles, &c., the offerings of the Bedouins, who visit this tomb.

"Among the Bedouins, the tomb is the most revered spot in the peninsula, next to the mountain of Moses; they make frequent vows to kill a sheep in honour of the Sheikh, should a wished-for event take place. Once in every year all the tribes of the Towara repair hither in pilgrimage, and remain encamped in the valley round the tomb for three days. Many sheep are then killed, camel races are run, and the whole night is passed in dancing and singing. The men and women are dressed in their best attire. The festival which is the greatest among these people, usually takes place in the latter part of June, when the Nile begins to rise in Egypt, and the plague subsides, and a caravan leaves Sinai immediately afterwards for Cairo. It is just at this period, too, that the dates ripen in the valley of the lower chains of Sinai, and the pilgrimage to Sheikh Szaleh thus becomes the most remarkable period in the Bedouin year."—p. 489 and following.

"On the Jebel Mousa, about thirty yards from the Church, stands a poor mosque held in great veneration by the Moslem, and the place of their pilgrimage. It is frequently visited by the Bedouins who slaughter sheep in honour of Moses, and who make their vows to him and entreat his intercession in heaven in their favour."—p. 566.

Mr. Lane, in his "Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," treats at considerable length upon the subject of their saints. We can only extract the following remarks.

"A superstitious veneration, and honours unauthorized* by the

* *Unauthorized* is not too strong a word if restricted to its literal

Ckoorán or any of the Traditions, are paid by all sects of Mooslims excepting the Wahhabees, to deceased saints even more than to those who are living; and more particularly by the Mooslims of Egypt. Over the graves of most of the more celebrated saints are erected large and handsome mosques: over that of a saint of less note (one who, by a life of sanctity or hypocrisy, has acquired the reputation of being a evel'se, or devout Sheykh) is constructed, a small, square, whitewashed building, crowned with a cupola. There is generally, directly over the vault in which the corpse is deposited, an oblong monument of stone, or brick, (called *turkee'beh*, or wood, (in which case it is called *ta'boo'*), and this is usually covered with silk or linen, with some words from the Ckoorán worked upon it, and surrounded by a railing or screen, of wood or bronze, called *mucksoo'rah*. Most of the sanctuaries of saints in Egypt are tombs; but there are several which only contain some inconsiderable relic of the person to whom they are dedicated; and there are a few which are mere cenotaphs. The most sacred of all these sanctuaries is the mosque of Hhas'aney'n, in which the head of the martyr El-Hhasey'n, the son of the Ima'm Al'ee, and grandson of the Prophet, is said to be buried. Among others but little inferior in sanctity, are the mosques of the sey'yideh Zey'nob, (daughter of the Ima'm At'ee, grand-daughter of the Prophet), the sey'yideh Sekee'neh, (daughter of the Ima'm El-Hhasey'nr), and the Ima'm Esh-Sha'fe'e, already mentioned as the author of one of the four great Moos'lim sects, that to which most of the people of Cairo belong. The buildings above mentioned, with the exception of the last two, are within the metropolis; the last but one is in a southern suburb of Cairo, and the last, in the great southern cemetery.

"The Egyptians occasionally visit these and other sanctuaries of their saints, either merely with the view of paying honour to the deceased, and performing meritorious acts for the sake of these venerated persons, which they believe will call down a blessing on themselves, or for the purpose of urging some special petition for the restoration of health, or for the gift of offspring, &c., in the persuasion that the merits of the deceased will assure a favourable reception of the prayers which they offer up in such consecrated places. The generality of the Moslims regard their deceased saints as intercessors with the deity, and make votive offerings to them.

...

sense; in this sense even circumcision is unauthorized by the Koran, which says nothing about it. But the Koran does not profess the doctrine of the "Koran and the Koran only." As to the traditions, we shall find Evilya a little farther on giving evidence in the other direction.

"Many of the visitors kiss the threshold of the building, and the walls, windows, mucksoo'rah &c. The rich, and persons in easy circumstances, when they visit the tomb of a saint, distribute money or bread to the poor, and often give money to one or more water-carriers to distribute water to the poor and thirsty for the sake of the saint. There are particular days of the week on which certain tombs are more generally visited.

"At almost every village in Egypt is the tomb of some favourite or patron saint, which is generally visited on a particular day of the week, by many of the inhabitants, chiefly women, some of whom bring thither bread, which they leave for poor travellers or any other persons. Some also place small pieces of money in these tombs. These gifts are offerings to the Sheykh, or given for his sake. Another custom common among the peasants is, to make votive sacrifices at the tombs of their Sheykhhs. For instance, a man makes a vow (*nedr*) that if he recover from a sickness, or obtain a son, or any other specific object of desire, he will give, to a certain sheykh (deceased) a goat, or a lamb, or a sheep; if he obtain his object, he sacrifices the animal which he has vowed at the tomb of the sheykh, and makes a feast with its meat for any person who may choose to attend. Having given the animal to the saint, he thus gives to the latter the merit of feasting the poor. Little kids are often vowed as future sacrifices, and have the right ear slit; or are marked in some other way. It is not uncommon, too, without any definite vow but that of obtaining general blessings, to make these vows; and sometimes a peasant vows, that he will sacrifice, for the sake of a saint, a calf which he possesses, as soon as it is full grown and fatted: it is let loose by consent of all his neighbours, to pasture where it will, even in fields of young wheat, and, at last, after it has been sacrificed, a public feast is made with its meat. Many a large bull is there given away.

"Almost every celebrated saint, deceased, is honoured by an anniversary birthday festival, which is called *moo'bid*, or, more properly, *mo'bid*. On the occasion of such festivals, many persons visit the tomb, both as a duty and as a supposed means of obtaining special blessing.....

"Most of the Egyptians not only expect a blessing to follow their visiting the tomb of a celebrated saint, but also they dread that some misfortune will befall them if they neglect this act."—Vol. i. p. 324 and following.

An authority not less weighty than that of Mr. Lane, is the author of a "Personal narrative of a Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Mecca." His work, however, is so full of passages illustrative of the Moslem devotion to saints, that we are really perplexed by the "embarras du choix." As the work is found in all circulating libraries, we simply advise our readers to consult the author himself. Let them

read the description of the old *rais* of the pilgrim ship who knew the name of each hill, and had a legend for every nook and corner in sight; how he dwelt on the life of Abu Zulaymah, the patron of those seas, and his care for pious mariners; how the ship was left by the tide high and dry upon the shore, and how all the physical exertions of the crew and the pilgrims were unavailing to help it, how they burnt coffee instead of incense in honour of the saint, and how each man called on his own particular saint, but in vain, until *Mr. Burton* induced them to apply to the intercession of a saint as yet unknown to them, and with what success.* They will find a good many invocations in the book which are not spontaneous effusions of devotion, but authorized liturgical prayers.† Such, for instance, is the address to the Prophet (vol. ii. p. 74) Abu-bekr (p. 79), to Omar (p. 80), to the Angel of Allah, the Cherubim and Seraphim, and the lady Fatimah (p. 88 and following).

Mr. Burton's own description of the Moslem devotion to the Prophet at his tomb, differs in colouring, but not in outline, from that of his predecessor Joseph Pitts of Exon, who says that at the tomb of Mohammed, where the corpse of that bloody impostor is laid, the Hages (pilgrims) petition the dead juggler with a wonderful deal of reverence, affection, and zeal, (vol. ii. p. 410.)

When we turn from the evidence of European travellers to that of native Moslems, we cannot expect to find anything so complete, as for instance, those of Mr. Lane or M. d'Ohsson. The European writers give the impression resulting from a vast number of facts which have come under their observation, and they write with the *intention* of making a complete statement. If native Moslems chose to write from the same point of view, or if we could call them before us and cross question them, they would give precisely the same evidence. As it is, the separate *unconscious* evidence of each bears only the same relation to a complete statement that a single fragile stick does to the irrefragable bundle. We must also remind our readers that Oriental works have never been published with a view to illustrate the subject we are now treating, but in general

* Vol. i. p. 295 and following.

† See *Eucologe Musulman traduit de l' Arabe par M. Garçin de Tassy.*

with very different intentions. Orientalists will bear out our assertion that an enormous mass of evidence, similar to that we are about to produce, exists in manuscripts. Our sole motive in quoting the following few extracts from eastern sources, is the wish to let the "couleur locale" speak for itself.

Our first native witness is the *Scherif Eddin El Busiri*, whose composition the *Borda*,* (or Month), in honour of Mohammed, is one of the most esteemed pieces of Arabic literature. It has been translated into Persian and Turkish, and a large number of paraphrases and commentaries, both in prose and verse, testify to its importance and popularity. We follow the translation of the illustrious Silvestre de Sacy.

"Mohammed is the friend of God, and his intercession is the sole foundation of our hope, and our resource against the most fearful dangers. He it was who called mortals to the knowledge of God, and whosoever attacheth himself to him, attacheth himself to a rope which will never break."

"All the miracles performed by the other holy prophets were but a communication from the light of this Prophet. He is the sun of excellence, and others are but the planets which depend upon that sun, and which reflect his luminous rays upon men, in the midst of darkness."

"Whosoever leans upon the aid of God's Apostle will reduce to silence the very lions.....In offering to him this tribute of praise, I have the confident hope of obtaining the remission of sins of a life spent in the frivolity of poetry and the service of the great."

"If on the day of resurrection he taketh me not by the hand,† with a generosity full of tenderness, thou mayest say of me that I have fixed my feet upon a slippery spot; but far from him be that unfaithfulness, that any one has hoped in his goodness and been

* "La Borda traduit de l'Arabe de Scherif Eddin Elbousiri, par M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy," in the "Livres Sacrés de l'Orient" of M. G. Pauthier. See p. 752.

† Compare the following from Mr. Burton's Pilgrimage, vol. ii. p. 93. "At the Prophet's window we recited the following tetristich and prayer,—

O Mustafa! verily I stand at thy door,
A man, weak and fearful, by reason of my sins,
If thou aid me not, O Prophet of Allah!
I die—for in the world there is none more generous than thou art."

frustrated in his hopes—that any one has sought an asylum with him and has not experienced the effects of his protection.....

"Oh, thou the most excellent of created beings! what other beside thee shall I take as a refuge in that moment so terrible to all mortals?"

The "Travels of *Evliya Effendi*," have been published in an English version for the Oriental Translation Fund, and are therefore easy of access to our readers. If they will examine the work itself, they will understand the impossibility of doing justice to the evidence it affords to the thesis we are defending, without transcribing half the book. Niebuhr mentions some half-dozen saints as patrons of trades. *Evliya* enumerates (Vol. I. Part ii. p. 104, &c.) several hundred guilds and professions, mentioning their patrons and the places where these are buried, in the following style.

"The divers.....Their patron, Sheikh Khaled Ommani, lived on the shores of Hormuz, when he fished for pearls and sent them from time to time to the Prophet's family. He was girded by Ini Ben Malek and became the patron of divers. His tomb is in the Abyssinian island Massowa. I had the good fortune to visit it seven times."—p. 133.

"The cryers of the shoe merchants.....Their patron was girded by Abazer Ghaffari and his tomb is at Caverna, near Baghdad. All these guilds if they affranchise a boy apprentice, pray first to Mohammed Ekber Yemeni as the common saint, and then to their particular patron."—p. 211.

Evliya passed his own life in travelling and visiting the tombs of the saints. He naturally encountered dangers of several kinds. For instance,

"On the third day, at noon, a wave upset the boat, and I fell head foremost, into the sea. Being a good swimmer, I worked with all my strength, recommended myself to the Lord, to the intercession of the Koran, and all the saints, all the great and pious men I had hitherto known on my travels, and by this kind of effort, keeping my head clear, I swam undaunted."—Vol. ii. p. 69.

He rather differs from Mr. Lane as to existence of traditions in favour of devotion to the saints.

"I now began to recite the Koran according to the intention of the saint with whom I made spiritual acquaintance, remarking the Prophet's tradition, 'If you are perplexed in your affairs look for assistance from the inhabitants of the tombs.' The mirror of my

heart was polishing and rubbing off the dust of sadness, when a woman walked in, who threw the body of a dead child and herself on the threshold of the tomb, (of a saint called Bardakli-baba) crying and lamenting that her child had been killed by the troops, who had cast it on the snow, and calling down Divine vengeance upon them, through the aid of the Prophet and the Saints. She was followed by a great number of injured men, who united their prayers and imprecations with hers.

"We passed through eleven quarters of the town (of Angora), and visited in passing all the tombs of the saints which I shall mention by and bye, if it pleases God! At last there appeared on the western side of the wood market a small cupola, which my companions pointed out to me saying, 'This is the tomb of Er Sultan'.....I layed my face on the threshold and prayed to the saint, saying that I had arrived by his blessing, and begged he would not let me depart void of benediction in this and the other world. I now commenced the recital of the Koran, and sheltering myself under the green Suf with which the coffin was covered, said, 'Protection, Protection, O Er Sultan!' I then fell asleep, and sweated to such a degree that when I woke my clothes were wet. Er Sultan appeared to me again, and I begged he would not let me go hence void of benediction. He replied, 'Thou wilt not be void of it, because thou art a Hafiz (knowing the Koran by heart) and a lover of the saints (Evliya), whose tombs thou always visitest. I led thee myself to this place,'" &c.—p. 225.

The story in the original is accompanied by supernatural circumstances which we omit for the sake of brevity. Besides the travels of Evliya those of Ibn Batuta and of Ibn Haukal are accessible to the English reader. They contain fewer single passages of the strength of those just quoted, but the general effect is very similar.

In the story of Enis el Djelis in the Thousand and One Nights, Nur-ed-din, in his dungeon, thus prays to God :—*

"O Lord, by the intercession of the Guide, the Messenger, thine Elect, who is an ocean of mercy, by the prince of intercessors, I invoke thee; pardon my sins, and put an end to my misery and sufferings."

In the tale of Aladdin Abushamat the hero is twice miraculously preserved in consequence of his invoking the saints.

* We follow here the text of M. de Biberstein Kazimirski, p. 114.

"A Bedouin took his spear and was about to thrust it into the breast of Aladdin, whereupon Aladdin said, 'O thy blessing, O my lord, Abd el Kader Gilani!' And he saw a hand turn away the spear from his breast, to the breast of Kemal-eddin, the Akkam; so that the Bedouin pierced the latter with it and left Aladdin."

Abd el Kader Gilani was a celebrated saint at Bagdad, at whose tomb Aladdin and his father had recently paid their devotions. Shortly after this adventure

"The Bedouin stopped beneath the cistern, and stretched forth his hand to seize Aladdin, whereupon the latter said, 'O thy blessing, O my lady Nefesa! (a female saint.) This is thy time!' And lo, a scorpion stung the Bedouin in the palm of his hand: and he cried out and said, 'O Arabs, come to me, for I am stung.'"^{*}

The hostile testimony of Abd el Wahhab, the founder of Moslem Protestantism in the last century, as quoted in the "*Journal Asiatique*" of February, 1848, agrees with the foregoing evidence.

"Do you not see the Moslem pilgrims adore and glorify the immaculate tomb of the prince of the Prophets, the burial places and sepulchres? Prostrate there on the pavement, rubbing their heads covered with ashes, and crushing them against the threshold of sepulchral chapels, what are they but idolators in the widest acceptation of the word? If you tell them so they will reply, 'These idols, these images, these monuments—we do not call them our God, these are our Kybla. We only turn our faces towards them when we pray; and we pray them to intercede on high in our behalf and to be the bearers of our supplications to the throne of the God of mercy.....It is the same with the Jews and Christians,' &c.—p. 170.

It is often taken for granted that the Wahhabees are justified in representing their own views as the genuine doctrine of Mohammed before it was corrupted by tradition. It has also been believed for many centuries that the Euhemerists were right in explaining the ancient mythologies by the deification of deceased men and women. It is commonly believed in Great Britain that the Reformers restored Christianity to the state in which it had been promulgated by its Divine Founder and His Apostles. Writers in the Edinburgh Review seem to be under the impression that if the New Testament be inter-

* Mr. Lane's translation, vol. ii. chapter xi.

preted otherwise than in accordance with right reason, as understood by liberalism and modern science, the meaning of the sacred writer is odiously perverted. We believe that Wahhabees, Euhemerists, Reformers and Edinburgh Reviewers labour under the same illusion. They look at a past age through a medium which lends to all objects a colour and form which they identify with the objects themselves.

A religion which has lasted for many centuries may have become hopelessly corrupt, but it cannot be reformed. If the community has really lost the sense of its primitive meaning, that sense can never be recovered, either by the community itself or by any portion which may revolt from it. Nothing is so difficult for the most accomplished historian as to throw himself back into the mind of a generation wholly past away, particularly when the necessary contemporary documents are wanting. The feat has really never been accomplished by any individual, and that it should be accomplished by many together is a purely sectarian illusion. There never lived a Wahhabi who was capable of proving the authenticity of a single chapter of the Koran, or of a single tradition. The very first step in the reconstruction of his creed is an arbitrary *petitio principii*.

If all the Calvinist communities in the world were now found to be holding the doctrine of the metempsychosis, no amount of arguing would prove that this doctrine was not an essential characteristic of Calvinism, even though the writings of Calvin and his contemporaries were silent on the subject, or even unfavourable to it. The most pointed repudiation of the doctrine might only prove that Calvin did not know whether his principles led, or was afraid of them. One of the most thoughtful Protestant writers* of this century has said, "The consequence (of principles) may suffer an eclipse in the individual, but never in the masses." All "Reformations" start with a negation of this fundamental truth, without which history can never be read correctly.

We have carefully abstained from any reference to the Persian devotion to the twelve Imams, not only because this devotion is at once proved to be an innovation on the

* Vinet.

primitive creed of Islam by the fact of its being *local* instead of universal, but because it is not really similar to the ordinary cultus of the saints. It is rather to be compared to a heterodox Christian worship of our Blessed Lord. Still there is no doubt that the Shiites, who, in the worship of the twelve Imams, go far beyond anything to be found in the Catholic devotions to the saints, are as far from Polytheism, both doctrinally and practically, as any Protestant Christian.

We have also avoided referring to the Moslem doctrine respecting living saints, though the closest analogies might be quoted to the Catholic doctrine: the subject is too extensive a one, and it would be necessary to draw distinctions between the universally recognized doctrine and that only acknowledged in certain schools.

Before quitting the Mahomedan religion altogether, let us add that it has always acknowledged the value of prayers for the departed. Moslem tombstones often contain prayers of great beauty for the souls of the dead. Almsgiving for the dead is also universal. Readers of the Thousand and one Nights will remember, in the story of Aziz and Azizah, how the lady arose,

"And taking a purse containing some pieces of gold, said to me, 'Arise, and show me the tomb, that I may visit it, and write upon it some verses, and build over it a cupola, and pray for mercy upon her, and bestow these pieces of gold in alms for her soul.' I replied, 'I hear and obey.' And I walked before her, and she followed me, and employed herself in giving alms on the way as she went, and every time she did so she said, 'This is an alms for the soul of Azizah, who concealed her secret until she drank the cup of death, and revealed not her love.'" —*Lane's Translation*, vol. i. chap. viii.

Infants however, are considered as blessed immediately after death, and the prayer over them runs thus—

"O my God, let this child be the precursor of our way to eternal life. O my God, let this innocent be the pledge at once of our fidelity and of thy heavenly reward, as also our intercessor with thy divine clemency."

The DRUSES, of whom we have lately heard a great deal too much, profess a religion founded by Abu Ali Mansur, better known under the name of Hakem-biamr-Allah, the third of the Fatimeh Caliphs. It is, in princi-

ple and in fact, as thoroughly Monotheistic as the Mohamedan, Jewish, or Christian Creeds. One of its chief characteristics is the belief that God has, at different times, been incarnate in human form without sharing in the infirmities of humanity; but although Jews and Moslems may consistently accuse them of Polytheism, Christians at least have no right to take the same ground. Even their worship of the golden calf, which, at first sight, is certainly very suspicious, does not necessarily make them idolators. It is no mere theory of their apologists, but a certain fact, attested by the Druses themselves, that this gold figure is but an emblem of the sacred humanity of Hakem, in whom God is supposed to have been incarnate, and no more implies a worship of the creature, than the Christian emblem of the lamb. The Druses themselves are fanatical Monotheists. The name on which they most pride themselves is that of "Unitarians," and the most opprobrious term they can think of for an opponent, even beyond "devil of devils" is "polytheist."

In their "Second Catechism," published by Eichhorn, we find the following questions and answers:—

"What do we say of Mohammed?
"He is a shaytan (devil) and son of fornication.....

"Why do we pray to Mohammed before men?

"When we pray to Mohammed, we pray to Mohammed Almokdad, who is Soliman the Persian, the true Messias. But as for Mohammed the Koreishite, he is a shaytan, and a son of fornication."*

By the person here called Soliman the Persian is meant Hamza, to whom the religion of the Druses is indebted for the mystical form it has attained in its sacred books. Although the most exalted attributes are asserted of Hamza, he is not identified with God. He is but the Grand-Vizier of Hakem, and one of the five servants or great angels who sit upon the throne of their Lord.

Besides the Viziers, and other exalted personages of the celestial hierarchy, the Druses have saints more nearly resembling those of the Moslem faith. The same

* *Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Litteratur*, Th. 12. p. 212.

is true of other remarkable Eastern sects; for instance, those of the Ansarii and Yezidees. But the doctrines of these other religionists are so mixed up with Pantheistic elements as to prevent our citing any one of their practices as analogous to those of Catholics. A curious document* belonging to the Ansarii speaks of their saints in these terms: "Their holy souls are the universal soul, their sublime intelligences are the universal intelligence." We find ourselves here introduced into a totally different range of ideas from those common to the religions we call monotheistic.

We now turn from Islam and the sects to which it has given birth and proceed to illustrate the JEWISH doctrines on the relations existing between the living and the dead.

Our first authority is the very learned and complete German work of Schröder, on "Talmudic and Rabbini-cal Judaism."[†]

"The dead, according to the teaching of the Rabbins, are in perpetual relation (in fortwährender Verbindung) with this world; they know, too, beforehand, all the circumstances that will befall men.[‡] They lend their aid to the prayers, particularly of those belonging to them, in order that it may the sooner reach the ears of God; they lament or they rejoice over what passes upon earth.It is also highly agreeable to the departed to be assiduously visited by their living friends, and to be asked by them for their intercession with God."—p. 569.

"The Rabbins say that the grave-stones are not principally

* See the "Journal Asiatique," of 1848.

† "Talmudisch-Rabbinische Judenthum."

‡ Compare Buxtorf, *Synagog. Judaic.*, p. 508. "Scribunt ibidem in Talmudo quemlibet oportere meminisse, vita functos honore maximo prosequendos esse: quod omnia, quæcumque fiant in mundo hoc, isti norint in altero." The same notion that departed saints are witnesses of what takes place upon earth has always existed among the Moslems. Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed, visited his tomb unveiled as long as her father Abubekr only was placed behind him, but she always covered her face after the corpse of Omar had been added. A similar belief (see infra) prevailed in the primitive Church. In the Moslem law relative to property, saints are not considered as dead.

placed for the sake of decoration, but in order that one may know who lies in the graves, so as to direct one's prayer to them, and move the dead to intercession with God."

At page 95, Schröder gives a long prayer which is said at the tombs, and then he adds;

"We have given this prayer at full length because it contains in a most remarkable manner (if particulars, e. g. the names &c., be omitted) the very ideas of the Christian Catholic Church with reference to the merits of the martyrs."

The whole prayer is too long for quotation, and abbreviation spoils its effect, but the following passages will certainly bear out Schröder's remarks.

"Lord of the world.....hear my prayer and accomplish my desire, for the sake of the saints and just who were slain.....because they would not deny thee, the Eternal. In honour of them have I come hither, to pray by their souls and bodies who all repose in paradise with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah, and all the other just. Lord of the world, let me have the benefit of their merits,* that I and my friends, together with all Israel, may, for their sake, be protected from all (evil).....and that my soul may be found worthy to find rest with their souls, and the souls of the other just in paradise."

Our next witness, Mr. E. S. Calman, is by birth a Polish Jew, and is said to have been a learned Rabbi. He afterwards became a Protestant missionary in Palestine. The following extracts are taken from an article written by him, on "the present state of the Jewish religion," which appeared in the "American Biblical Repository" for 1840.

"Besides fasting and almsgiving, they pray to the dead to intercede for them, especially to their deceased relatives, and if they are separated by distance from the graves of these, they spare no pains to reach them. Distance presents no obstacles to the rich, neither poverty to the poor. Journeys of hundreds of miles are undertaken by myriads of both sexes for this purpose, while those who dwell near the graves not only invoke the spirits of the departed ones, but every day until the day of atonement has

* Cf. the Targum on Psalm lxxxiv. 10. "Merita patrum nostrorum respice Deus," &c. And on Psalm cxxxii. 10. "Propter merita Davidis servi tui ne avertas faciem uncti tui."

passed. The practice is known by the name of [kibre aboth] visiting the graves of their fathers. In passing the smallest cemetery in Poland or Russia, where Jews are residing, one may behold a promiscuous company of both sexes and of every age, prostrated upon the graves, and offering prayers to their mouldering relatives, in most lamentable strains. The Jews of the East carry this practice to greater excess than those of the West, having numerous saints to whom they pray, reckoning each person whose name is mentioned in Talmud as such, and whose countless graves are scattered over the countries of Palestine and Babylonia..... This superstition is recommended or rather commanded in the Talmud."—Vol. iii. p. 417.

"In one respect the Jews in the Holy Land are far worse than those of Russia, Poland and Turkey, inasmuch as they are much attached to the practice of praying to deceased saints and reliquies. The veneration which they have for the supposed stones of the temple is beyond description Praying to the dead is unlimited both by time and place. Every spot is frequented where there are supposed to be buried saints, whose names are found either in the Mishna, the Talmud, or the Bible. An annual resort for this purpose is at Safed, at the grave of Rabbi Simeon Ben Yekhoiah, the author of the Zohar, which closes with a drinking festival that lasts about three days..... When I passed through Tiberias on my way to Jerusalem, I met outside the gate a poor old woman, bearing a small pitcher in one hand and a lamp of oil in the other, and proceeding towards the declivities of the hills where are the caves of Rabbi Akiba.....and of Rabbi Mayer Baal Ness, which means, 'the Lord of miracles.' It is believed by all, that if any one meets with a misfortune, he will be set free from it by promising any sum of money to the latter deceased Rabbi. The income amounts to immense sums, a part of which is expended in burning oil in his cave day and night, and in the respective synagogues of the Holy Land, and the remainder the living Rabbins keep for their own use..... Last winter M. Nicholayson and myself and many others visited a cave on the summit of Mount Olivet, where the Prophetess Hulda is supposed to be buried. It is joined to a mosque. In the cave are two large oblong stones placed one upon the other, something in the form of a sepulchre. There we found several Spanish Jews barefooted, with their faces to the blocks, and praying very earnestly, though the day was very wet and cold..... This last summer I became acquainted with a Jew who came all the way down from the Crimea to the Holy Land on purpose to pray to the deceased saints there.....

"The practice of praying for the souls in Purgatory exists universally among the Jews, and is of course one of the corruptions of the Talmud."—Vol. iv. p. 193 and following.

The fact of the Jews praying for the souls of the

departed is so generally known and so undisputed that we shall omit what Mr. Calman says upon the subject. Some of our readers may find it interesting to examine an ancient Hebrew itinerary published by Hottinger* containing an accurate enumeration of all the tombs of the Jewish saints in Palestine and the neighbouring countries. It begins thus according to Hottinger's translation :

"Genealogia† Patriarcharum, Prophetarum et justorum, Tannorūm, Amorōrum, super quibus pax, in terra Israelis et extra eum. Deus justitiam eorum in bonum nostrum cedere jubeat. Amen. Hoc sunt itinera filiorum Israel quae fecerunt proficentes de virtute in virtutem, ut prosternerent se ad sepultra justorum, super quibus pax. Accedant autem cum lacrymis et deprecationibus ut potant et exorent misericordiam pro se, et fratribus suis, qui in exilio morantur. Deus excelsus suscipiat preces nostras et maturet liberationem nostram. Amen."

The old Hebrew Itinerary of Rabbi Petachia‡ is well known to lovers of geographical literature. It is so full of wonderful anecdotes, illustrative of the miraculous powers of departed saints, and of their intervention in human affairs, that the French translator, M. Carmoly, felt it necessary to apologize for them. And the whole tone of the narrative is much stronger than can be gathered from reading a few extracts from it. We therefore recommend our readers to refer to the Itinerary itself, of which the following may give an idea.

We are told of a periodical miracle which takes place at the tomb of the Prophet Ezechiel. The aperture in the wall of the enclosure round the tomb, which, on ordinary days, is too small to allow any one to pass through it without creeping, is, on the great Day of Expiation, pre-

* In his "Cippi Hebraici," p. 26.

† The Hebrew word here translated *genealogia* has indeed this signification, but it should in this place, we think, be translated *recensio*.

‡ He lived in the twelfth century. Perhaps the most generally accessible edition of his Itinerary is that published in the sixth volume of Ugolini's Thesaurus. Another, with the French translation of M. Carmoly will be found in the Journal Asiatique of 1831.

ternaturally widened, so as to admit the crowds present on that occasion.

"This takes place in presence of the whole people, who bring votive offerings and lay their presents upon the sepulchre. And men and women who are desirous of offspring and those whose cattle are barren, are in the habit of offering vows and prayers at the tomb of Ezechiel. Rabbi Petachia was told that a man of note, who lived at four days' distance from the tomb of Ezechiel, had a barren mare. He made a vow that if his mare had a colt, he would give it to Ezechiel. In due time the colt was born, but as it was very beautiful, its master kept it and would not give it to the prophet. But the colt itself escaped and found its way into the enclosure before the tomb of Ezechiel, through the aperture, which opened sufficiently for its passage. The master sought his colt everywhere, but in vain, until he reflected within himself and said, 'Perhaps it is because I vowed to give it to the holy Ezechiel.' On arriving at the tomb he made fruitless efforts to get back the animal, because the aperture was too narrow to allow it to pass. A Jew who was present said, 'This beast can only have got here through a miracle. Perhaps you had dedicated it to the Prophet.' The master confessed the fact and enquired what was to be done. The Jew replied,—'Take money, and when you shall have placed the value of the colt upon the tomb of the prophet, the colt will go out freely.' The master followed this advice; the money was placed upon the steps of the tomb, and when the sum amounted to the price of the colt, the aperture widened spontaneously and the animal went out.

"Rabbi Petachia went himself to the tomb of Ezechiel, with the intention of offering some grains of gold. On arriving at the tomb he missed them and he said, 'My lord Ezechiel, it was in thine honour that I came hither with the golden grains that I have lost. But wherever they may be they are thine.' He had scarcely said these words when he saw something bright at a distance, which proved to be what he had lost. He brought it and dedicated it at the tomb of the Prophet.....

"Persons," he says, "who wish to travel, bring purses or other precious objects to Ezechiel, and say, 'My lord Ezechiel, keep for me this purse or other object, until my return, and do not permit any one, except my heirs, to touch it.' There are several purses lying there full of money, and rotten because they have lain there for many years. There are also some books entrusted to the keeping of Ezechiel. Some impious persons tried to carry off one of these books, but in vain, for he was stricken with blindness. Hence every one celebrates the praises of Ezechiel."

The most remarkable passages of the Talmud in favour

of the efficacy of the invocation of departed saints are well known. One of them is as follows.

"Rabbi Chama enquires why the sepulchre of Moses was hidden from the eyes of men. Because God knew full well that the house of the sanctuary would be laid desolate and the Israelites carried away from their own land. It was therefore concealed, lest they should fly to the sepulchre of Moses, and stand with tears, saying, O Moses, master, intercede for us. And lest Moses should intercede and the decree be rendered void; for the just are dearer to God after their death than when they were living."

The learned Wagenseil* says in a note on this passage "We cannot deny that the Jews often speak as if prayer addressed to the departed had some weight in obtaining from them that they should discharge the office of intercessor with God. We have ourselves noted sufficiently clear testimonies in this matter." He then quotes the treatise Chassidin.

"Barzillai, the Gileadite, says, (2 Sam. xix. 38.) "Let me die in my own city.' For it is profitable for the dead if their friends visit their tombs and pray for their souls.....And they too, when they are asked, pray for the living. It was for this that Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, prostrated himself at the tombs of the Patriarchs."

And the 'Shalshelet hakkabala.'

"If, on the occasion of a public calamity the people betake themselves to the place of the tombs and pray there.....(the departed souls) intercede with God for the living."

Wagenseil also quotes Abarbanel, who speaks of the tombs of saints as channels of divine grace, "on account of the impressions left in the bones by the Divine Spirit whose dwelling they have been," from which the learned Protestant draws this strange conclusion. "Ergo si huic credimus, vis omnis placandi Deum, et preces gratas acceptasque reddendi, solis inhæret mortuorum ossibus, in mentibus vero eorum nihil est præsidii." In the same way he quite misinterprets a passage of the Talmud, where the discussion turns upon the tombs of Gentiles. According to one theological opinion, that of Rabbi

* Sota p. 332.

Levi, prayers might be said in a Gentile burying-place, because the practice of praying in such places was intended to exhibit the helplessness of the worshippers, who might say to God, "We are as the dead before thee." According to another opinion, that of Rabbi Chamma, the real motive of praying in burial places is to petition the departed to intercede for us, and therefore Gentile tombs are out of the question. Both opinions are perfectly consistent with a belief in the intercession of the holy dead, and in fact, as Wagenseil says truly, the opinion of Rabbi Levi as to the propriety of praying in Gentile burial-places has prevailed. The other passages quoted by Wagenseil simply amount to the well-known maxim (as common and proverbial among Catholics of all countries as among Jews) "qu'il vaut mieux avoir recours à Dieu qu'à ses saints."

The allusion to Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, in the Chassidin, is thus explained in another Talmudic passage:^{*}

"They ascended by the south, and he came unto Hebron. (Numbers xiii. 22.) And they came, it should be naturally. Rabu therefore says that it is implied that Caleb withdrew himself from the counsel of the spies, and went and prostrated himself at the tombs of the fathers, and prayed, "O Fathers! intercede for me, that I may be freed from the counsel of the spies."

The "Fathers of Hebron" are thus invoked in company with the angels of peace, in a Jewish prayer for the dead.[†]

"O Fathers of the world (*avoth olam*) who are at rest in Hebron, open to him the gates of the garden of Eden, and say, Let his coming be in peace!"

"Angels of peace, go forth to meet him, open to him the gates of the garden of Eden, and say, Let his coming be in peace!"

Such then have been the ideas of *orthodox* Judaism, from the time at least of the composition of the Talmud, till the present day. Before attempting to trace these ideas back to a time anterior to the Talmud, it will be

* Ibid. p. 715.

† Henric. a Porta de ling, Orient, p. 340.

well to examine the ideas of a religious body closely allied by origin to the Jews, but separated from them by an almost inconceivable amount of sectarian hatred. We mean of course the SAMARITANS, with whom "the Jews have had no dealings" for more than two thousand years. Whatever Jews and Samaritans have in common in matters of doctrine is certainly anterior to the time of their separation.

Although we are in possession of but few documents illustrative of the Samaritan doctrines, we shall find quite sufficient for our purpose.

In the fragment of commentary in the Arábic language first published by Schnurer, from a manuscript in the Bodleian, we find this interpretation of Gen. xlix. 22.

"I will fortify myself by his means (Joseph's) against misfortune, and avoid ill through him, for he will be my shield against it, and my arrow to repel adversity, for he supports me and my sons in this life, and will aid me by his prayers in the next."*

This interpretation indeed is not that of the author of the commentary, but he does not object to the doctrine contained in it. Could we find it in a Protestant commentary?

In their first letter to Joseph Scaliger, the Samaritans beg of him to send a donation for the maintenance of their priests and worship,

"And a votive offering and gift for the prophets and saints, Eleazar, Ithamar, Pinehas, Joshua son of Nun, Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and our father Joseph the fruitful bough. Peace be with them all for ever! For they all are buried in the territory of the city of Sichem, and votive offerings and gifts are brought to them from all cities and families."†

Their second letter begins as follows:—

"In the name of the great Lord, the strong and terrible. The fear of the Lord be upon Moses, the son of Amram, the Prophet of all ages. Through his works, his prayers, his fasts, his (*the next word is unintelligible*) may the Lord multiply the life

* In Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, Th. 16. See p. 188.

† Ib. Th. 13. p. 267.

of you all...may our God rise against those who shall rise against us and against you, through the merits of our fathers and your just men, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (upon whom be peace).”*

In the seventeenth century the Samaritans had been led, by certain Anglican divines, to believe that co-religionists of theirs were living in England, and the illusion was kept up by letters written to them in Hebrew by Dr. Marshall of Oxford. The Samaritans beg donations and votive offerings for their priests, and their poor, and their holy places, as in their correspondence with Scaliger. They complain that all Christians, Jews, and other religious sects except their English correspondents regularly send alms and offerings to their poor and the tombs of their prophets in Palestine. At last they write in bitter disappointment to their fellow Samaritans in Auksunia (Oxford),—

“ You announce to us that you send us eight gold pieces. These have arrived. But, brethren, this is not what we had a right to expect from you...We thought you would send us a sum of two thousand pieces of gold for a religious foundation, and we would pray for you to the holy prophets, and on Mount Gerizim, and at all times.”†

Some Protestant controversialists will perhaps exclaim, “ What do we care for the authority of these wretched people, and what does it matter to us what Jews, Turks, Druses, and other infidels may happen to believe or practise?” It matters perhaps a great deal more than controversialists may imagine.

In the first place, we have an indisputable proof that the invocation of departed saints has not the slightest tendency to weaken the monotheistic feeling. All the Protestant arguments on this point break down when tested by the experience of many centuries in the religions of which we have been speaking. A belief in the existence of one Supreme Being from whom all other beings derive their existence and every thing else which can be positively predicated of them, upon whom they all depend,

* Ib. p. 271.

† Ib. Th. 9, p. 37, 42.

and from whom they are removed by a difference which is not only immeasurable, but *infinite*,—this belief is not found in any one of the profane religions of antiquity, but it has ever been the one leading and determining doctrine of all the forms of Judaism and Mohammedanism. That all things are as nothing in presence of God, that there is no Deity but God, that there is no strength or power but in God, the High, the Great, are truths no less deeply impressed upon the convictions of Jews and Moslems than on their memories and lips. The wildest fanaticism of European sects is tame compared to what would be excited by any attempts within the synagogue or mosque, to tamper with those truths. And this monotheistic feeling has certainly lost none of its intensity down to the present day.

In the next place, the historical question is well worth considering. When we compare the Christian cultus of the dead with the Jewish or Mohammedan, certain differences are at once apparent. The Moslems offer sacrifices to their saints, whereas Jews and Christians have always considered sacrifice as a homage reserved for God only. Jews apparently ask for the intercession of departed persons who are not saints, as well as of those who are generally recognized as such. But these differences, which are extremely important as showing how the religions have developed independently one of the other, are not such as even to obscure the points of resemblance. It is quite certain that Jews, Christians, and Moslems differ greatly as to the conception of *sacrifice*, and therefore as to the appropriate use of it. It is equally clear that when a Jew invokes the intercession of some departed person, it is under the supposition that that person is on good terms with the Almighty, and so far a saint. The three religious agree in the idea that the communion of saints is not interrupted by death—the living benefit the dead by prayers to God for pardon and mercy, the dead aid the living by their intercession, not only *in genere*, but in individual cases, because they are, in the words of St. Ambrose, “*speculatores vite nostræ et actuum nostrorum*;”—invocations for their help and intercession are therefore not idle addresses to persons who cannot hear, but good and profitable. Now, where did this doctrine, common to the three religions, first originate? It is of course evident that Mohammedanism derived it, like

other doctrines, from Christian or Jewish sources, probably from the latter. But did Christians derive it from Judaism or Jews from Christianity—and when?

One portion at least of this doctrine is more ancient than Christianity. The practice of praying for the dead is found as early as the time of the Maccabees, and it must therefore have been the practice of the Jews in the time of Christ and the Apostles. It passed naturally from the synagogue into the church without any protest from the Apostles or their successors, and it is found in every one of the ancient liturgies.

The intercession of departed saints is also recognized in the Old Testament,* as Mr. Owen and others have shown. We shall here only notice two Jewish authorities anterior to Christianity. The first is Baruch iii. 4. "O Lord Almighty, the God of Israel, hear now the prayer of the dead of Israel," &c. We refer to this passage in consequence of the following observation of a learned Protestant writer in Dr. Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. (*Art. Baruch.*)

"A translation into English of the Epistle of Baruch has recently been executed by Rabbi Dr. H. Jolowicz, who considers it a production at least twelve centuries later than the time of Jeremiah, and written by a Syrian Jew converted to Christianity. This conclusion rests on internal evidence, among which may be noted the mention of the Massorah, which was of comparatively late origin, and the allusion to the corrupt Christian doctrine of the intercession of saints or ancestors."

All our efforts to procure a copy of the work of Dr. Jolowicz have failed, we are therefore unable to say how far he is responsible for the almost incredible thesis attributed to him, if by the "Epistle"† be meant the *book* of Baruch. But as the absurdity of the thesis does not lie on the surface, particularly to persons who are not familiar with biblical science, we think it right to state that (1) according to the highest critical authorities, the Greek

* E.g. Jer. xv. 1; 2 Mac. xv. 14.

† There is a supposed Syriac Epistle of Baruch, but the context of the passage in Mr. Wright's article seems to refer not to this production but to the *book* of Baruch.

text of Baruch and the Septuagint version of Jeremias are by the same person : (2) the Septuagint version of Jeremias is quoted in the New Testament. (3) The book of Baruch is found in the Syro-Hexaplaric manuscript of Milan, with references to the version of Theodotion, a fact which not only proves the antiquity of the book, but seems to imply a correction of the Greek text from the Hebrew original.

Ewald's remarks* are well deserving of attention.

"The Greek translation of this book in many places agrees so little with the original, that the latter must already (at the time of translation) have been pretty ancient. It was evidently the same person who translated Jeremias and Baruch (compare only the use of the words *βαδίζω, μαννά* for *μανα, ἀποστολή, χαρμοσύνη, γαυρίαμα, διερμάτης*) and he must therefore have found the book united since a long time with that of Jeremias. Moreover, it is certain that the author of the Book of Daniel read this book, and that in Hebrew, united probably in the same way with the Book of Jeremias."

The second Jewish authority that shall be cited is that of the Book of Enoch, which is quoted by St. Jude. It has generally been ascribed to the age of Herod, but a very high authority carries it back as far as the time of John Hyrcanus. Several passages might be quoted from it for our present purpose, but the following is the most remarkable.

"I saw another vision, I saw the habitations and couches of the saints. There my eyes beheld the habitations with the angels, and their couches with the holy ones. They were entreating, supplicating and praying for the sons of men ; while righteousness like water flowed before them and mercy like dew over the earth." *Chap. xxxix. 4.*

We refer Protestant readers to Mr. Owen's pages for the proof that this doctrine of the intercession of departed saints has existed in the Christian Church from its very beginning. The Apostles brought it with them into the Church, not as a new doctrine, but as an old one. The author of the Apocalypse does but continue the tradition of the Deutero-canonical and older books.

* *Gesch. des Volks Israel, Th. 4. p. 232 vol. 5.*

Is it equally true that the Church followed the practice of the synagogue in addressing departed saints with a view to obtain their intercession? We have not here the same direct evidence as with reference to the two former points. The earliest positive evidence of Jewish invocations to departed saints is found in the Talmud, and the earliest positive evidence of Christian invocations in writers of the fourth century. We are, of course, not speaking of evidence adducible in behalf of the practice, but only of evidence of the practice itself. These two kinds of evidence are very different, and must not be confounded. Much evidence *tending to prove the lawfulness* of praying to Christ might be cited from the New Testament and early Christian writers. But it is not till the fourth century that we meet with historical proof that *in fact* prayers were generally addressed to Christ. In the same way when we find the early Christians believing* that in every place of prayer, not only Christ and the angels were present, but the souls of departed saints, and that the latter took an interest and part in the prayers of the living, nay, "that they *ministered* to suppliants the remission of their sins,"† it might fairly be inferred that persons holding this belief did actually ask the departed for their prayers. A Protestant does not address the saints because he does not believe that the saints can hear him or help him. If he believed this, he would no more scruple in addressing a departed than a living saint. There is also another kind of evidence, which we think the strongest of all, and that is the organic unity of the Catholic creed. But at present we wish strictly to confine ourselves to the facts before us, and to see what can be made out of them.

Although the earliest evidence of Christian invocations is found in writers of the fourth century, it is found in such a way as to imply that the practice was not a recent one. To say nothing of the case of St. Justina, men-

* See Origen de Oratione § 28 and following, also § 66, and compare St. Jerome's reply to Vigilantius. "Scriptum est, Sequuntur agnum quoevere vadit. Si Agnus ubique, ergo, et hi qui cum Agno sunt ubique esse credendi sunt." Tom. ii. p. 122.

† Origen Exhort. ad Mart.

tioned by St. Gregory Nazianzen, the Emperor Julian, who frequently reproaches the Christians with their worship of the dead, speaks of it as an ancient practice, and even attempts to show how the Apostles brought it into the Church. His attempt is, of course, absurd, but his evidence is sufficient, at least, to show the great antiquity of the practice in his time.* His assertion, too, that the practice was formerly kept secret is of considerable importance. The authority of Eusebius leads to the same conclusion, for he certainly does not represent "Post-Nicene theology."

The evidence of the Talmud extends also to a period anterior to its composition, sometimes indeed to a much earlier time. It gives, for instance, two different versions of an ancient legend with reference to the Exodus, in each of which vえrious Moses is represented as invoking the Patriarch Joseph.

At some indefinite time, then, within the ante-Nicene period, both Jews and Christians are found admitting the lawfulness of invoking departed saints. Which of the two parties is likely to have borrowed from the other? It will, we think be universally allowed that the Jews are not likely to have borrowed any religious practice from the Christians during this period, one of the most trying in their history, and one in which their animosity against Christians was most highly excited. It is equally difficult to conceive that the Christians should have borrowed anything from the Jews after the rupture between the two religions was complete, nor is it easy to understand how any occasion for borrowing could present itself. There does not appear to have been any communication on religious matters between Jews and Christians. Jewish practices must have been as unknown to the infinite majority of Christians as they are at the present day, and as little influential. Whatever the Church and Synagogue had in common dated from the time anterior to the rupture. The fact of the Samaritans agreeing with the Jews in this matter is an additional reason for believing the invocation of departed saints to be of the greatest antiquity. Their sect is older than Christianity, and it cannot be

* Juliani imp. opera et S. Cyrilli cont. Julian libb. 10, tom. i. p. 438; tom. ii. p. 335, 339, 344, Ed. Spanheim.

proved that they have borrowed a single doctrine from Jews or Gentiles since the Christian era. The natural conclusion, then, to be drawn from these considerations is that the Jewish Church invoked departed saints before the time of Christ, and that the entire doctrine of the "Communion of Saints" at least in its external features is a legacy of the Synagogue to the Church. With this conclusion certain passages in the Gospels harmonize exactly, and derive a meaning which we believe to be more correct than that generally ascribed to them. We believe, for instance, that the true explanation of the conduct of the Scribes and Pharisees "who built the sepulchres of the Prophets and adorned the tombs of the just," is to be found in the description of the magnificent tombs, like that of the Prophet Ezechiel, built by the Jews, and described by Rabbi Petachia, Benjamin of Tudela, Pietro della Valle, and other travellers. And when some of the bystanders at the crucifixion said that our Blessed Lord invoked Elias, the remark was a natural one for men who misunderstood His words, but were in the habit of hearing invocations similar to what they described.* An ignorant Jew would, at the present day, give the same explanation of an exclamation such as that uttered by our Divine Redeemer.

Classical scholars are aware that they must look to Plutarch, Pausanias, and even very much more modern authors for the first traces in literature of myths or religious ideas and practices as old as the Hellenic religion itself. Since K. O. Müller the notion of judging the antiquity of religious ideas and practices by the first date of their appearance in literature has justly been exploded. And persons who believe that from the very first days of the Church the practice of praying, not only to the Father, but to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, was constantly observed, ought to know that they are highly interested in not having recourse to that exploded notion. Whatever

* The name of Elias is indeed connected with Messianic associations, but not only with these, but with many others. His presence and aid are, for instance, either tacitly or expressly invoked at every circumcision. See *Buxtorf Synagog. Judaic.* p. 84. *Mayer, das Judenthum, in seinen Gebeten, &c.* p. 240. *Schröder Talmudisch-rabbinisch-Judenthum*, p. 338.

may be the cause of the fact, the fact itself is undoubted that devotion, not only to the saints but to the Second and Third Persons of the Holy Trinity, assumes, to say the least, a much greater prominence and development in the literature subsequent to the Council of Nice than in the earlier literature. And we have no hesitation in admitting what appears to us historically certain, *a priori*, that the devotion to the saints was affected by the Arian controversy. We have spoken so much of the resemblance between the Christian notion of the Communion of Saints, and the Jewish and Mahommedan, that it is necessary to add that independently of the ethical difference between a Jewish and a Christian saint, there is a theological difference, (the union with Christ,) which must not be lost sight of. There is perhaps no sentiment more universally asserted by the fathers of the Church than this, "God became man, that man might become God," or in another form, "Christ became man, that man might become what Christ was."* In proportion then as the Arian controversy brought out more clearly and explicitly the truths involved in the belief of the Church as to the Person of its Divine Founder more and more light was thrown upon the glory and exaltation of the saints. But no new principle was introduced into the doctrine of their "cultus," and that doctrine as defined by the Council of Trent is as old as Christianity itself.

* See St. Irenæus adv. Hæreses, Præfat ad lib. 5, Tertullian, Apolog. c. 21, St. Cyprian, de Vanitat, idol, c. 6: to refer only to Ante-Nicene authorities. The Christian Life was at this period already called "deifica disciplina," (St. Cyprian, ep. 68). And writers like Clement of Alexandria and Hippolytus speak unhesitatingly of men "becoming God."

ART. II.—*The Temples of Jupiter Panhellenius at Ægina and of Apollo Epicurius at Bassæ, near Phigaleia in Arcadia.* By C. R. Cockerell, R.A.; Professor of Architecture in the Royal Academy, London; Member of the Institute of British Architects; Honorary Doctor of Civil Law, Oxford; Member of the Dilettanti Society; Associated Member of the Institute of France, and Chevalier of the Legion of Honour; Member of Merit of the Academy of St. Luke in Rome; Foreign Member of the Academies of Munich, Copenhagen, Geneva, etc., etc., etc. London; John Weale. 1860.

THÉ religion and the religious worship of the ancient Greeks, and above all, the structural arrangements of their temples, can scarcely fail to be a subject of interest to the educated Catholic. He cannot but remember that it was from Hellas that the heathen civilization and worship of ancient Rome was derived, even long before the time when

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio;

And he must of course be aware that many of the churches of Christian Rome, and probably the general outlines and interior arrangements of most, are mere improvements on the ancient Basilicas, which themselves bore so close a resemblance to the Hellenic Temple.

Among classical architects Mr. Cockerell's name stands confessedly very high, if not the very highest; and though it is fifty years ago since he explored the two magnificent temples, with the details of which he has now favoured the world, yet there are a freshness and elasticity about his narrative and description which make his work most readable; and we doubt not that if it had been published in a simple octavo instead of a gigantic folio, and divested of many strictly professional details, the present work would have been in large request at Mudie's Library, who would probably have seen no reason for placing it on his "Index Expurgatorius," as it treats, not of High Church Anglicanism, but of Hellenic Polytheism.

It appears from Mr. Cockerell's introductory remarks that in the year 1810, before he had entered on the active

business of his profession, he extended his travels into Greece, and that at Athens he met with Lord Byron, Baron Haller, Baron Stackelburg, and some other gentlemen deeply interested in the antiquities of Greece, whose zeal in those matters had probably been stimulated by the publication of three out of the four volumes of Stuart's *Athens*, and by the explorations carried out by certain architects in the employ of the late Earl of Elgin. These gentlemen accordingly determined to investigate some of the more remote and less accessible sites, and were not deterred by the privations and dangers to which such researches exposed them at a time when Greece was under Turkish rule; to say nothing of the chance of fatal sickness from malaria, and the attacks of a lawless race of freebooters and brigands, who appear to have inherited the characters and dispositions, if they did not inherit the blood, of the famous marauders of the Homeric age, to whom Thucydides so graphically alludes as a kind of "gentlemen" pirates.

Mr. Cockerell tells us how,

"Full of the brightest anticipations, a party of four, consisting of Baron Haller, Messrs. Foster and Lynch, and the author, determined, in April 1811, to pay a lengthened visit to the island of Ægina, for the purpose of exploring the Temple of Zeus Panhellenius—a monument which, as they knew, from its reputed antiquity and its extraordinary preservation, presented to the antiquarian and the artist, an object not inferior in interest to any edifice existing in Greece. Accordingly, having spent the evening with Lord Byron in pouring out libations in propitiation of his homeward voyage to England, to reap the rich harvest of fame which awaited his return, they left the Piræus just after midnight, and arrived at break of day under the Panhellenian Mount. Fortunately, even at that early season, they were enabled to bivouac without fear, owing to the settled fitness of the weather, and they found their accommodation completed by making use of the cave at the north-east angle of the platform on which the temple stands,—originally, perhaps, an oracular adytum or recess. The party, together with their servants, (including a Turkish janissary by way of guard) were sufficiently strong to defy the pirates who infested those seas in the nineteenth century of the Christian era with as much audacity and impunity as they showed in the days of Homer; and accordingly they passed twenty days and nights upon the spot without molestation, under the agreeable excitement of the enterprise which they had undertaken. The neighbouring village the modern capital of Ægina, furnished the provisions and the

labourers necessary for the excavation. The mountain thyme afforded fuel, partridges were in abundance, and the shepherds provided the party with kids, which were roasted on wooden spits over a blazing fire, when the labours of the day were brought to a close. The unusual bustle of the little encampment soon increased ; and the good-humoured descendants of the Æacidæ proved at once their hospitality and their interest in our labours by the readiness with which they assisted us, lightening our toil with the rustic lyre, the song, and the dance—now, as in former days, the constant accompaniment of all combined operations in those countries."

It was not long before the excavators found their labours rewarded by bringing to the light of day, besides many buried pillars, &c., no less than seventeen exquisite statues, and the fragments of at least ten more, all of the most finished style of Æginetan art, in its best day,—materials sufficient to enable Mr. Cockerell to restore the tympanum and cornice of the Eastern and Western Pediments with tolerable exactness, and so to complete (on paper) the restoration of one of the most magnificent remnants of Hellenic art. In spite of every difficulty that the jealousy of the natives and the cupidity of the Pashas could throw in their way, Mr. Cockerell and his companions were enabled to get their newly found treasures transported, first to Athens and then to Zante ; whence they were shipped to Malta, en route to Rome, where they arrived in safety. How it came to pass that, having come so far on their way, they did not reach their ultimate destination, the British Museum, Mr. Cockerell shall tell us in his own words, as he is naturally anxious to exculpate himself and his friends from the charge of any want of regard for the interests of their own country. He writes as follows :

"On the first discovery of the marbles, information was sent to the British Ambassador at the Porte, and also to the British Government at home, through Mr. Hamilton. Shortly afterwards, two English travellers of distinction—the late Messrs. Gally Knight and Fazakerly—who happened to arrive at Athens, offered a sum of £2000. to the two German co-proprietors to relinquish their shares, engaging, together with the English proprietors—Messrs Foster and Cockerell—to present the whole collection to the British Museum. These terms, however, were declined on the part of Messrs. Haller and Lynch, from an equally honourable desire to secure the statues for their own countrymen. With both parties thus situated, and both equally anxious to strain every nerve

for their respective countries, it was clear that no other mode of solving the difficulty remained, except that of offering them for public sale. Advertisements were accordingly inserted in the *Gazette* of every country in Europe, announcing that they would be offered to public competition in the following year at Zante; and Mr. Gropius, who was permanently established as a merchant at Athens, was appointed by common consent to act as agent in the business, in the absence of the several parties directly interested. In the midst of the political anxieties of the period, the attention of the British Government was directed to the subject through the good offices of Mr. Hamilton, at whose instance H.M.S. *Paulina*, Brig of War, was sent out under Captain Percival, with a most liberal offer for the immediate purchase and transport of the treasures. The engagement already entered into with the public, and the zeal of the German co-proprietors, unfortunately combined to render it impossible to accept the offer; but still, under the immediate apprehension of an attack by the French upon the island of Zante, the proprietors were induced to consent to the removal of the marbles to Malta, as offering an asylum of greater security. Captain Perceval, on the part of the British Government, undertook this duty. But though the marbles were deposited at Malta, no change in the previous arrangements was made by the agent, Mr. Gropius, to whose hands the matter had been confided by the principals, who by this time had separated and were following their respective avocations, the one in Sicily, and the other at Smyrna. The home authorities, bent earnestly on the acquisition of the treasures for the British Museum, despatched Mr. Taylor Combe, the keeper of the antiquities of that institution, to bid on their behalf, not doubting but that the sale would be held at Malta, as indeed was most natural, seeing that it was the place of their deposit. Meanwhile the sale took place as originally intended, at Zante, in the absence of the treasures which were to be submitted to the hammer; and the statues were purchased, through M. Wagner, who had been despatched from Rome for that purpose, for H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Bavaria.

"The disappointment of the English parties on learning the result may be more easily conceived than expressed in words. On reassembling, they found themselves committed through their legally appointed agent, Mr. Gropius, to support a sale effected much to their own disadvantage, and bound to assert, at the risk of much odium, the legal right of the Prince to the purchase. After some discussion and correspondence between the respective governments, that right was at length confirmed, and the statues were given up to the Prince, by whom they were finally deposited in the Museum at Munich."

The statues, we may add, still occupy a gallery in the *Glyptotheke* in that city, where many of our readers

doubtless have seen them, and those who have not will find them carefully described in Murray's Hand-book for Southern Germany: and Mr. Cockerell, to use his own words,

"Has always the consolation of knowing that they have been placed in an asylum where they have been appreciated by the entire European public, and in the hands of a prince who is surpassed by none in his enlightened patronage of the fine arts, and especially of the master-pieces of Grecian skill, in a country renowned for its devotion to such glorious and elevating studies."

We cannot find room here for any abstract of the history of the little island of *Aegina*, between the commercial enterprise and self-relying energy of which state, and the Great Britain of the nineteenth century Mr. Cockerell draws out a very striking parallel, on the ground of which he claims from the English reader, a peculiar interest in his subject. We will therefore pass to an account of the edifice of Jupiter itself, first placing on record a few apposite remarks upon the templar architecture of the ancient Greeks, which will be at once suggestive of a similar train of thought having been uppermost in the minds of our chief Christian architects, the founders of our parish churches and cathedrals.

"The temples of the Greeks were generally placed within the precincts of their cities; not only for the obvious reasons of accessibility and ornament, but also on account of the trophies and treasures which were generally deposited in them, and which, in addition to the influence of the prevailing religion, required also the aid of artificial defences, such as strong walls and citadels, and were especially entrusted to the charge of appointed guardians. A departure was made from this very natural custom only in the case of a site sanctified by some remarkable religious association, as in the present instance, in which, as we read in the passage of Pausanias quoted in the previous chapter, the prayers of *Aeacus* and the Deputies from all Greece having been heard, and health having been restored, the *Aeginetans* built a Temple to Zeus, under the title of the God of all the Greeks (*Panhellenius*), on the very spot where the hero had offered up his intercessions. When temples were thus situated, their remoteness, as well as the grandeur of the scene and the wildness of the country by which they were approached, formed a powerful contrast with the highly finished object to which the prayers and the footsteps of the devotee were directed. This often must have added greatly to the impressions created upon the mind, when abstracted from the busy world to religious contemplation in the course of the pilgrim-

age. We are strikingly reminded of the opinion of Socrates on this particular, as reported in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. 'The most becoming site for temples and altars,' says the philosopher, 'is one which is most conspicuous, and least crossed by public ways; for it is sweet for those who see them from afar to offer up their prayers, and sweet also for those who approach from a distance and who are piously disposed.' Placed on such an eminence, and surrounded by such scenery, we at once admit the fitness of those sturdy and stern proportions, both of the parts and of the whole, so much in accordance with the nature of the site, but so lamentably ineffective in a less conspicuous situation, or when placed in the midst of a crowded metropolis, and on a level with the public streets.

"The Greeks themselves were so sensible of this fact, that we find different proportions generally adopted when the temple was placed on a plain or in a city, as at the Temple of Minerva in the city described in this volume, at Nemea, in the city of Athens, in the instance of the portico of Augustus. Generally too we may be permitted to remark that architects have adapted a low and horizontal system of architecture to a lofty country, and a perpendicular and aspiring system to a level and flat district, as if convinced of the inefficacy of all attempts at loftiness amidst the wonders of mountain scenery, and seeking rather by the regularity of art and succession of horizontal lines, to present a contrast to those rugged irregularities of nature. Only in the plain, where nature presents no such contrasts, we may indulge all our ambition of loftiness with some hope of effect. Thus we see throughout Greece and in Egypt, enclosed within rocks and mountains, the horizontal temple prevailing; and find in the plains of Assyria the Tower of Babel, and in the low countries the lofty Gothic spire."

In conformity with the principle laid down in this extract, we find that the Temple of Panhellenian Jove was placed upon a lofty ridge, which still to this day bears the name of Oros, or the Mount; and to judge from the plate which stands at the head of the chapter, its situation must have been very grand and imposing. Compared with temples dedicated to the King of the Gods in other countries, the Aeginetan Temple must have been small in its dimensions, though in the character of the architecture, in its order, and in the distribution of its plan, it was probably the most magnificent of the edifices erected at that time in Greece, and entirely suited to the majesty of the deity to whom it was dedicated. It was hexastyle, peripteral, with a double order in the interior, and hypæthral. Some idea of its size may be

formed, when we state that the colossal eye of ivory, and other fragments of the same material, found *in situ*, prove that the statue, though the latter was in a sitting posture, must have been fully twenty-five feet in height; for, as Mr. Cockerell observes, "a figure of that magnitude, if erect, would have left no proportionate space between the head and the ceiling of the 'Temple'—and we know that proportion was, and is, the very essence of the beauty of Hellenic architecture.

"The platform or 'High Place,' on which the Temple itself was situated," writes Mr. Cockerell, "was partly formed out of the solid rock, and partly built up of large polygonal stones. This platform is about 230 feet long by 130 deep, and was paved with large square slabs in two courses, of which the lower one only now remains. The temple is so placed as to leave open a much larger space towards the east, where probably the sacrifices were performed. There are some foundations of an ancient building, very probably of a Propylaeum, approaching with great taste upon the south-east angle of the temple, and showing the east front of the south flank in the same view. A similar approach is found at Sunium and at Priene, and in other examples. It is probable that a wall connected with this building may have enclosed a peribolus, formed into a succession of terraces, which are still observable to the south, and where possibly the games in honour of Æacus may have been held. At the north-east angle is a cave, partly formed by art, in the solid rock: this cave was undoubtedly connected with the ancient mysteries connected with the worship of the temple: the surface of the platform, having been sown with barley when explored by us in 1811, was, of course, in some parts deep with vegetable soil which had accumulated round the mouth of the cave, and which so obstructed its entrance as to conceal from us its innermost recesses."

We have said above that the temple of Jupiter was "Hypæthral"; the following remarks of Mr. Cockerell will explain our meaning, and at the same time will show how thoroughly the Catholic doctrine as to divine worship is anticipated by, and therefore so far confirmed by, the dictates of natural religion.

"The ceremonies of the Hellenic religion consisted principally of sacrifice and prayer; the cella, therefore, of the Greek temple was never intended to receive a congregation, or to serve any other purpose than of a receptacle or habitation for the god, as the word *Nâos* (Latin, *aedes*) implies; upon the idol every resource of costly material and of art was employed to dignify its worship; and the architecture with which the interior was decorated was calcu-

lated to enhance the impression of the image of the god, and was made wholly subservient to that purpose. Pausanias has left us many descriptions of temples so adorned ; and it is clear that no very great capacity was required. The interior was adorned with a double order of small but proportionate columns (much after the manner of our own Gothic cathedrals), dividing the cella into a nave and two side aisles : the whole of the nave was occupied as a niche by the colossal figure of the god, the aisles by statues of deities more or less associated in this worship. The design of the artist, of course, was to procure, by the contrast of proportions, the utmost effect on the mind of the beholder. And that his calculation did not fail is illustrated by the declaration of Quintilian, that 'the Jupiter of Olympia (disposed upon this principle) added to the influence of religion by its majesty ;' and Livy relates that Paulus Æmilius was so affected at seeing the statue of the Olympian Jove, as to feel the presence of the deity. In a clear and brilliant climate, the opening or eye (*σταῖον*) of the Hypæthral roof was not required to be large, and it was enough that the principal object (the statue) received the full force of its light, heightened by the comparative gloom over the other objects in the cella."

Mr. Cockerell and his friends further ascertained that the centre of the ivory eye must have been a precious stone —a proof (if proof be needed) that the Greeks considered no ornament too costly to be lavished on the central figure of the 'Præsens Divus,' to whom all the worship of the temple was directed. It is almost superfluous to add that the adytum, or part of the Temple where this figure stood or sat, though in sight of all the worshippers, like our own chancels, was not open to the 'profanum vulgus,' but reserved for the use of the ministering priests alone.

The reader will be interested in perusing the following inventory of the sacred vessels and furniture used in the Temple of Jupiter. The list of utensils begins with those of brass, and then enumerates those of iron, as "two chains, four iron window bars and two hooks." It proceeds,

"The following are of wood : one box for containing perfumes ; three chests ; the rails round the base of the statue complete ; one throne ; one chair ; four benches or stools ; one small throne ; one small couch ; one bench with a back ; three small boxes ; one base or stand for a crater ; one small broad chest in the Amphipoleum (the vestry or apartment at the back). The following of brass : one vessel for heating water ; one wash-hand basin ; two bowls ; one axe ; one bolt ; three knives, and also two of wood ; one brazen vase for washing ; one spoon ; one strainer."

It is to be observed that the original of this inventory is not in Attic, but in the Doric dialect ; from which Mr. Cockerell infers that at the time when it was engraved, the temple must have been in the hands of the old enemies of Ægina, the Athenians, and is thus enabled to fix the date as certainly more than four hundred years before the Christian era.

Among the most interesting points established by Mr. Cockerell and his friends in the course of these researches was the large use of colouring applied to the sculptures as well as to the pediments and architraves, and indeed throughout the exterior embellishments of the building. On this he remarks—

" In considering a custom which appears so extraordinary to us, as the external painting and gilding of architecture, it must be recollect that though the Greek buildings were grand in their conception and idea, their scale was small ; hence they required a greater nicety and delicacy in their execution : the colours served as a means of distinguishing and heightening the effect of the several parts otherwise inanimate. To paint white marble or other stone exposed to the open air, is discordant with the northern prejudices ; but if we take into the account the fact, that in Greece all nature is full of vivid colour and variety, the unvaried white which might be in unison with our northern grey, would have seemed spectral and monotonous in Ægina. It may also be observed, that the mildness of the climate and the purity of the atmosphere, rendered works of finished execution much more secure from decay, and admitted refinements in sculpture and painting that would be thrown away in these. The inhabitants of those more settled climates, passing much of their time in the open air, or under the shade of porticoes, would contemplate the highly wrought detail of ornament in the exterior with the same convenience as we do those lavished on our interiors. Indeed it will be found that the scope of the Grecian architect was chiefly the exterior effect, while within all was secondary, except the work of providing a receptacle for the image of the god."

As to the sculpture of the exterior, we much regret that we have not space at our disposal for any lengthened description. The eastern and western pediments were both filled with most exquisite groups, the one illustrative of a scene in the Iliad where Achilles plays a prominent part ; the other an event in the story of Hercules and the Amazons. The countenance of each figure is distinct and appropriate, though the faces of all are of the conventional heroic type, and they all wear the flowing

locks, the shapely brows and chin, and, above all, the gallant smile which marks the chiefs who took part in the Homeric battles. They were executed in Parian marble, a material very friable, and requiring great mechanical skill in the execution. The skill shown here was only surpassed by the artistic effect produced by the partial application of colour to their faces and dresses from first to last, traces of which colouring still remain.

"The dresses of the statues were composed of the same number of pieces. Thus, the Minerva has a helmet of antique form, like that which is found on early Athenian medals. It was painted with chequered beads, unlike the style of Phidias, or that found on medals and coins of a later date. The hair, too, is dressed in a peculiar form; the figure had earrings, and three tresses on either side, terminating on the breast. These were of lead, and were attached subsequently, as were also the Gorgon's head, and the tassels or serpents' heads which formed the fringe of the *egis*. The latter is oval in shape; it has literally the leathern appearance of the inside of a goat's-skin, and was painted all over with scales. A shift, of fine elastic texture, appears on the arms and elbows, hanging down in large sleeves: this is covered with a tunic, having a large plait, with three smaller ones on either side, giving free action to the ankles and feet, which are seen and have sandals upon them, whilst the feet of the other figures are bare. Where the figures are naked, the helmet belonging to each is different. That of Patroclus is most elegant in form, such as, being borrowed from Achilles, might have been the work of Vulcan. The cheek-pieces, and the piece which protected the nose, when drawn down, must have been admirably suited to defence, and when drawn up, must have added to the effect; the hair is curled in front, and bound up with a fillet, under which the long hair at the back is gracefully folded. In the Ajax there is a helmet less perfect in form and in workmanship: it is capable of being drawn down; the hair is curled in front, and it appears that leaden curls were inserted behind. Another helmet fits close to the head, whilst two side pieces turn on a sort of hinge, sometimes up, and open upon the cheek. These were wrought in separate pieces and inserted afterwards, so that they could not appear of the same material as the face, the separation being evident. This is remarkable in the heads of the eastern pediments, and was a principle always observed. The lances, swords, and belts were of some other and more perishable material, not found; but the discovery of small bronze fastenings upon the spot, suggests that these were probably of bronze. The quiver is worthy of remark for its capacity: the holes into which the arrow heads were fastened are still visible. The length of the quiver agrees closely with the specimens sculptured at Persepolis,

as also do the curls, and the manner in which the dresses are plaited."

We have not space to follow Mr. Cockerell upon his excursion into Arcadia, or to narrate the story of his explorations, carried out upon similar principles, and under similar difficulties to those at Ægina, and, we may add, with the like results. However, the statues obtained by him at Phigaleia in Arcadia are now in the British Museum, where they are well known by the artistic world; while we must have recourse to Murray's *Handbook for Southern Germany* for a description of the treasures gathered at Ægina, which now stand, as we have already mentioned, in the Glyptothek at Munich. It is a satisfaction, however, to feel that they are in the hands of a prince who feels a real interest in sculpture and architecture, and who gladly renders them accessible to his own people and to British travellers.

ART. III.—*Introduction Historique et Critique aux Livres du Nouveau Testament*, Par Reithmayr, Hug, Tholuck, etc. traduite et annotée par H. de Valroger, Prêtre de l'Oratoire de l'Immaculée Conception. 2 vols. Paris, Lecoffre et Cie.

THERE are few countries in which any of the clergy have time for literary work, even though it be of the kind that most nearly concerns them. In France, where perhaps there is more intellectual activity than elsewhere, many circumstances are adverse to its development in the Church. Learned and laborious professors are to be met with in all the seminaries, but their hours are so completely filled by the duties of the day, that little time remains for the composition of anything beyond the outlines of a course, which their reading enables them to fill up by word of mouth during their lectures. The Cathedral Chapters, which once were nurseries of writers in every department of Church learning, are now filled by men worn out in the ministry, to whom they afford an appropriate and well deserved retreat; but who,

with rare exceptions, have not physical or mental activity to qualify them for what their countrymen call strong studies or deep writing. Although Jesuit Houses have once more made their appearance in nearly every diocese, the professors are quite too few in number, and too busy with the ordinary work of the school to attend to anything outside it; and the Faculty of Theology in the University of France is no substitute for the old Sorbonne, and has nothing in common with those great ecclesiastical corporations, the English Universities. A fellow of college in one of the Universities, or a dignitary without the cure of souls, in a benefice overrun with dissent, has free range over the whole field of literature, and may string a "Catena Patrum," or edit a Greek play, according to fancy or to circumstances; but to a working clergy, without the resource of Universities similarly constituted, or of religious orders having uninvaded leisure, literary work is, to say the least, extremely difficult. Where any degree of liberty prevails, religious orders crop out in a way which shows that revolution may have mown them down, but has by no means uprooted them. Their estates have been confiscated, their libraries have been scattered, their old homes have been changed into barracks or factories, and they themselves, are tolerated rather than acknowledged; but they still continue the work of re-establishment with a confidence and a reliance perfectly astonishing. In the present stage, however, of their new and precarious existence, it is not to be supposed that they have the old opportunities of cultivating the literature that was once the reason of their existence. In Catholic Germany, it is true, ecclesiastical literature as distinct from theological or professional learning, is found to prosper more than in other parts of Europe; and as might be expected, there is a greater show and more fruit of such studies there than elsewhere. But even in Germany the results, although more hopeful daily, are yet disappointing, and bear no comparison with the results which flow from the opportunities and the labours of the German Rationalists, whom it appears an abuse of terms to call Protestants, as the word is understood in this country. There are Catholic Universities in Austria, Bavaria, and the Rhine Provinces; but they are, in general, poorly endowed, and not unfrequently crippled and discouraged by the State.

On the other hand, both in England and in Germany, all the resources and all the favour of the State, and of public opinion, are at the command of those who devote their great talents and greater learning to the extinction of Christianity in due course of criticism. There is no occasion to speak of Ireland. She has perhaps done a great deal more than could be expected from her under existing circumstances, but the same causes which, in a smaller degree, obstruct the advance of ecclesiastical literature in other countries, are more common and more mischievous in Ireland than in any other country. She has one great ecclesiastical seminary, and several minor establishments of the same kind; but they admit of no dilettante study, and leisure is unknown in them. She has no university, save one infant and struggling institution, which may be, and it is to be hoped will be the parent of great men and of great works; but which cannot, in the course of nature, produce either men or works of great account for years to come. She has no cathedral chapters, no libraries, no great conventional establishments, in which serious literary works can be completed; and, while she is as faithful to sound doctrine now as in the days of Columbanus, her resources are far more slender at this moment than they were before the English invasion. Notwithstanding the prevalence of so many influences hostile to the recovery of ecclesiastical literature, its progress is unquestioned and even marked. Studious and active men have contrived to save an occasional hour from their scanty leisure for the composition of historical and critical works which prove abundantly that if that leisure and resources were more liberally measured, there is no deficiency amongst us in learning or skill. As might be expected, Catholic Germany has contributed a large proportion, not perhaps quite in the degree of her opportunities, but still a large proportion, to modern Catholic literature. France will take the next place, and although she seems to have lost somewhat in depth what she has gained in surface, a marked improvement is noticeable in the accuracy and the soundness of her ecclesiastical scholarship within the last few years; an improvement which is traceable to her better acquaintance, not only with German, but with Greek. There do not exist in France the same incentives to the pursuit of ecclesiastical and more especially of biblical litera-

ture, which we know to exist in Germany. The French Church is not nearly so much concerned as the German in the defence of the Catholic Canon of Scripture, or of the authenticity of the Scriptures generally. The same may be said of Church History and patristic studies in France, which, when they were more closely followed than at present, were studied from a point of view quite different from that at which German students take their stand. In France the Church historian has to deal with nothing more formidable than Gallicanism, as far as French interests merely are concerned; whereas in Germany he has to construct his history so as to encounter not only the Protestant but the rationalist theory. The French Protestants are so mere a fraction of the population, and make up so little by intellectual activity for the smallness of their numbers that it is not found worth while to spend much learning upon Protestant controversy. Their only great man, M. Guizot, has given an altogether different direction to his activity; and the more zealous members of his Confession, as it is called in France, have abandoned speculation and criticism for the more practical arguments of soup, fire-wood, and child-snatching. The enemy with which religious literature has to cope in France is Voltarian Scepticism, upon which learning would be totally thrown away, for it has inherited all the shallowness of its author, and relies upon popular fallacies which a German Rationalist would feel ashamed to take into his service. German Rationalism, on the other hand, equally with German Protestantism, is the child of much learning, which, although it may have made its followers mad, is much learning still. It is the usual course of medicine to cure a hypocondriac by humouring his fancies; and when a man is set beside himself by learning, the only human agency that can seat him in his own place is a still stronger and more active learning. It is thus that hermeneutical studies are of more importance to Catholics in Germany and England than in France, or in countries similarly circumstanced, and it is not surprising that a biblical scholar in France should go to Germany and to England for the materials of an introduction to hermeneutical studies. M. De Valroger's work professes to be nothing more than this. Its object is to revive in the French clergy, as far as circumstances will allow, the critical study of the Sacred

Scriptures. In what might be called the pastoral study of Scripture the French clergy are unrivalled. They do not, it is true, in preaching or in writing make use of a scriptural slang; but their references to Scripture texts are more frequent, and their applications of the text more various as well as more ingenious than are to be met with in the spiritual writers of almost any other nation. Still, it must be admitted that, from whatever cause, they are less eminent in the critical study of the Scriptures than are the clergy of Germany, England, or Italy; and it is equally certain that, should they once apply their clear minds to the study with which M. De Valroger is already so familiar, they could not fail to be at least as successful as others. It so happens that the boldness of the German Rationalists has alarmed whatever of positive belief is still found to exist amongst the German Protestants. The denial of inspiration, of miracles, and of mysteries, is a legitimate exercise of the right of private judgment which it would be illogical to refuse to the members of Reformed Churches. And yet, when the German Rationalists, be they pastors or professors, in the exercise of their undoubted right, deny the inspiration, the authenticity, and even the historical character of the Scriptures; Protestants, who uphold the Scriptures, are compelled to reason as if they were Catholics, and to write treatises, of which, in the main, a Catholic might be proud, and the learning of which he might safely appropriate on the principle, "Je reprends mon bien partout où je le trouve." Acting upon this principle, M. De Valroger, in his introduction to the critical study of the Sacred Scriptures, has not scrupled to use the learning and the reasoning of distinguished German Protestants, as well as of the eminent Catholic writers who have laboured in the same field. With the exception of a few introductory pages, M. De Valroger's work consists of chapters translated, with some slight exceptions, from German Biblicalists Catholic and Protestant. Wherever he finds it necessary to exercise an independent judgment, he does so, whether in the text or in the notes, but with full warning to the reader; and, from the arrangement of his book, the parts hang together very naturally, notwithstanding the varieties of style and of thought from which they are drawn. Something of this, as has been just observed, is due to the order and connexion of parts

in M. De Valroger's book, and something also to that wonderful alembic, a French translation, which breaks down and assimilates all differences of style. Certain it is, however, the work has much more the appearance of an original and digested piece of authorship than of a mere compilation. Indeed, the fact that the author has drawn together, translated and noted so many works upon the subject, is evidence of large reading, and also of a real love for the study to which he seems so anxious to introduce his countrymen. As an elementary book upon hermeneutics, scientific in arrangement, and yet sufficiently popular in style to meet the requirements of the less learned, the volumes in question are of undoubted value, and they leave few subjects untouched about which they ought to be conversant. M. De Valroger has not fallen into the too common mistake of supposing that every one of his readers, is as familiar with the learning, even the most difficult learning, of the subject as he is himself. The very sources from which he has derived so much of his information are of a character to encourage this mistake, because you seldom meet with a scientific German author who does not seem to write for a public of professors rather than of students, and to forget that the terms of art which are so clear to his own mind, often convey no more distinct idea to the mind of his readers than if they were written in an unknown language. The names of Reithmayr, Hug, Cureton, and Tholuck, are familiar to Biblical students, and it is principally from those authors that M. De Valroger has borrowed the chapters of his work.

"We must admit," he says, "that the learned men beyond the Rhine have upon those subjects a manifest advantage over us. They have kept up with an increasing ardour, and an untiring patience, the biblical studies which had been interrupted amongst us, by the revolutionary tempest which at the close of the last century destroyed the religious orders and our ancient universities. Before we think of surpassing them we ought to study with care and sift what they have written during the last sixty years. My wish in publishing this manual was to contribute somewhat to the eclectic analysis I have alluded to. The pretended results of German Science are unceasingly quoted against us, and it nearly concerns to understand well, and to point out the true results.

"We have little occasion to trouble ourselves with the varying soliloquies which every day have their beginning and their end, in each of the German Universities. Why do battle with errors which have no echo in our own country? Why give importance to

sophists who have none of their own? The only useful way to meet enemies of this sort is to show up in a faithful picture their divisions and their discord. The public does not sufficiently understand that in the heat of argument most of the heterodox critics work out a mutual refutation. Such an one who denies the authority of Genesis, is refuted by another who denies the authority of the prophets. And then every theory is haughtily paraded as a truth, an established gain for science, until the next day's hypothesis upsets with a crash that of the day before. What a telling and instructive book might be written upon the variations of this protestant scepticism!

"In the midst of this confusion which it would be enough to sketch in bold strokes, there certainly are men whose writings deserve a thorough examination. Such are the critics and philologists who have found amongst us translators, or what is more dangerous still, abbreviators and skilful panegyrists. It behoves us to prove that the incredulity of those learned men is no more the logical result of their learning, than were the paradoxes of Père Hardouin the result of his deep erudition. But what concerns us most of all is to bring clearly forward those truths which have been obscured by the abuse of science.

...

"The collection which I offer to the public, being the summary of a Science whose details are almost innumerable, is not merely to be read quickly, but to be studied with perseverance; or to be consulted upon special questions. It is addressed to serious and learned men, who wish to know exactly the history and the result of the critical studies of which the sacred texts of the New Testament have been the subject for eighteen centuries. Many of those men have been reduced by want of leisure to study in this long history none other than the most important questions. Each page of this manual having a title which sums it up, every reader can easily find in it the information he stands in need of. If with the help of these titles the various parts of this collection be run through as one runs through a dictionary, many a man who would not endure the regular reading of the book will succeed I hope in becoming penetrated with its substance by a gradual assimilation of its matter without fatigue. This manner of initiating oneself in sacred criticism, is the least repulsive, and in this respect it is the best. The order of the materials drawn together in these two volumes would not suit in an equal degree all minds; but each one can easily guide himself through those materials, discern those which suit himself in a special manner, and make out for himself a plan of studies appropriate to his own point of view.

...

"Among the masters of sacred criticism whom Germany has recently produced, I have sought out not the most brilliant but the

wisest, and tried to borrow from them the clearest and most solid portion of their works, without ever taking from them to ascribe it to myself, the honour which they have earned by their learned labours. I have translated, but I have also selected. I could not in the least degree give up the measure of independence which conscience and my object require; but where I considered it my duty to introduce some explanatory and qualifying notes amongst the notes of the authors whom I was engaged in translating I have marked those additions with a particular sign."

The first portion of the work is an introduction to the canonical books of the New Testament by Dr. Reithmayer, a Catholic Divine of high character in the university of Munich, somewhat paraphrased rather than translated by M. De Valroger, and this is followed by a dissertation upon the authenticity of the books of the New Testament by Dr. Hug, one of the most distinguished lights of biblical criticism that adorned the church of Germany during a dark and evil age. After the completion of his classical studies, he entered the university of Friburg in Brisgau, and qualified by the usual course of ecclesiastical studies in the Seminary of the same city for holy orders, and competed successfully for the chair of Scripture before his years would admit of his promotion to the priesthood. In 1793, being then twenty-eight years of age, he took his degree as Doctor of Divinity, and thenceforward in good and evil days, although solicited to fill other posts, he continued to study and to teach the Scriptures until his death in 1846, at the age of eighty-one years. He had been invited to fill the chair of Theology in the universities of Breslau, Tübingen and Baden: but he preferred the studious activity of his Alma Mater Fribourg, to the seductions of any other post in any other university. His great work was the Introduction to the New Testament, which was translated to some extent by M. de Valroger, full of valuable learning, and somewhat bold in its views; although in German works great allowance must be made for the habitual singularity of language, which is not confined to the authors or favourers of strange doctrines. This introduction is followed by a curious notice of the ancient Syriac version of the Gospels, of which use has been made by Cardinal Wiseman in his "Horæ Syriacæ," and it also includes a supplementary dissertation upon the credibility of the Gospel History by Dr. Tholuck. The whole is interspersed with the independent opinions of M. De Valro-

ger, given for the most part in the foot notes, and in a more substantial shape in the additional notes at the end of each volume, in which he not unfrequently differs to a considerable extent from the theories which he records in the text. There can be no second opinion as to the respect due to his skill and learning, however much some of his ideas may be open to fair criticism.

No book such as that of M. De Valroger, would be complete without some allusion to the celebrated controversy respecting the 1 John v. 7, commonly called the text of the "Three witnesses." To Catholics, the authenticity of this verse is comparatively unimportant, for the simple reason that their rule of faith does not contract or expand with the dimensions which verbal criticism may give to the sacred text; and though criticism should establish or discredit half-a-dozen readings, the articles of Catholic faith would continue just the same. With us the question has more of a literary than of a religious interest, and we can afford to touch it with calmness; but if you withdraw the passage from the Protestant Canon, one of the principal supports of Trinitarian doctrine is taken away. As a rule, Catholics are strongly disposed to uphold the genuineness of the text in question out of respect for its undoubted presence in Latin MSS. of higher antiquity than any Greek MS. except the Vatican and Alexandrine. Nevertheless, Catholic critics of unquestioned orthodoxy have not been wanting to dispute the authority of the passage, while Protestant scholars of great eminence have taken part in its defence. M. De Valroger, as might be expected, is a strenuous supporter of the "Witnesses," and grounds his defence upon what may be called the Latin evidences of the text. It is certainly matter of regret that the text should not be found in almost any MS. of the Greek Testament which dates before the discovery of printing, with the exception of the Montfortian or Dublin Codex, which has been the subject of much animated controversy. The text is found in the Greek version of the Complutensian Polyglott, and no one disputes the fact of its having been inserted there upon the authority of manuscripts which have unfortunately perished by fire. Of the positive value or antiquity of those MSS. we cannot form an opinion, but we are fairly enabled to presume from the circumstances of the time, and from the character of the work in which they are found, that no labour or expense was spared by

the magnificent Ximenes to procure the most valuable materials for his darling work. The very fact that Ximenes was in the field, or as the present age would say, in the market, might of itself account for scarcity of MSS. containing the text, as it is highly probable that wherever any such was known to exist he made himself master of it at any cost. Simultaneously with the publication of the Complutensian Polyglott between the years 1504 and 1522, went on the compilation of the Erasmian Greek Testament, which was published by Frobenius at Basle in 1516, and from which the text of the three witnesses was omitted. It is quite possible that Erasmus may not have seen a copy of the Complutensian edition which was not to be had for money before the year 1522, and in his own version of the Testament he followed a single MS. whose cursive characters bring its date forward to the eleventh century. It is just possible, on the other hand, that he may have been aware of the fact that the text appeared in the yet unpublished Complutensian Polyglott, and that, although knowing the authority on which the text was received by the great scholars concerned in the preparation of that edition, he yet rejected the text in the exercise of an independent judgment. It is most unlikely, however, that such was the case, for, after the appearance of the second Erasmian edition, an appeal was made to the great scholar to restore the text, and he undertook to do so, were the authority of one Greek MS. to be produced to him. That authority was produced, and not by the Complutensian editors, but by the University of Oxford, in whose possession was the manuscript which has since been known by the name of the Montfortian or Dublin MS. Ruled by that authority Erasmus introduced the text into his edition of the year 1522, and since then it has found its way into all the printed versions of the Holy Scriptures, and has been received as canonical by all the Churches of the East and West, Schismatical or Orthodox, notwithstanding the vigour with which its admission has been opposed by eminent critics, Catholic and Protestant. The Greek Testament of Stevens—the third edition of which appeared in 1550—adopts the Complutensian reading, and the editor quotes the authority, not only of the Oxford MS., but of seven others, in addition to those relied on by the Complutensian editors. These have all been lost, and considering the number of

hands through which the Montfortian MS. has passed, and its changes of name, it is surprising that it also should not have shared the fate of the Complutensian and Stevenian MSS. From the University it came into the hands of Froy, a Franciscan friar; from him it passed to Clements, Clark, Dr. Montfort, and finally to Ussher, with the rest of whose books it has come into the possession of Trinity College, Dublin. Its title of Montfortian is due to the fact that, while yet the property of Dr. Montfort, it was collated for the London Polyglott.

Notwithstanding the controversy to which it gave rise, and the contemptuous names that were freely given to it by hostile critics, it is a curious circumstance that no one thought of ascertaining its date and origin by a comparison with other MSS. and by actual inspection of those features with which experts are just as familiar in manuscripts as in coins or monuments. This was first attempted in 1808 by the well-known Dr. Barrett, who collated a portion of the *Codex Dubliniensis* with the text of Wetstein, (in print,) and came to the conclusion that the Book of the Apocalypse, in that version, was copied from a Leicester MS. of the thirteenth century. In the year 1855, however, the Rev. Dr. Dobbyn published the results of a complete collation of the Montfortian MS. with the Wetstein text, and other manuscripts of the University of Oxford, catalogued by Wetstein as 56, 58, 59. The comparison instituted between the Montfortian and the other MSS. has led Dr. Dobbyn to the conclusion that the Gospels according to Luke and John in the Montfortian MSS. have been copied from the New College MS. Wetstein 58; and that the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles have been taken from the Lincoln MS., Wetstein 39, save that the Lincoln MS. does not contain the text in controversy. This conclusion of the learned Doctor is grounded upon numerous and striking coincidences between the Montfortian MS. and the others, coincidences which reproduce, not only peculiarities of expression, but the orthographical and grammatical mistakes occurring in the Oxford MSS. As far as the text of the witnesses is concerned, the most important comparison is, of course, with the Lincoln College MS. from which that part of the Montfortian Codex containing the text is presumed to have been copied; and, as the text is not found in that MS., Dr. Dobbyn concludes that "its presence in

the Montfort Codex is an arbitrary and unauthorised interpolation" although he does not seek to fasten any imputation of design or fraud for controversial purposes upon the copyist. "The passage was written," says Dr. Dobbyn "before the Erasmian controversy began, and it may be accounted for on the same principle as many other variations from the original which mark this transcript. Its introduction was purely self-suggested, originating in no polemical purpose, and leaves our confidence in the good faith of the transcriber unshaken. Let a moderate share of Greek scholarship be combined with a high veneration for the Latin Vulgate, and a desire to complete what is evidently a tentative text throughout, one designed for private edification, not for sale—and this supposition meets all the phenomena of the case; the existence of the reading in one codex is accounted for, and the fair fame of the author is untarnished."

It is true that such a supposition may meet most of the phenomena of the case, but it remains to be seen whether it will meet all of them, and whether they may not be more effectually met by other and very different suppositions. Dr. Dobbyn has quoted very remarkable coincidences between the Montfortian MS. and its supposed originals, including whole passages common to both and not found in the Vulgate or in other editions of the Sacred Text; but we must not leave out of sight no less than four hundred and fourteen places in the Acts of the Apostles alone in which the readings of the Montfortian MS. differ from those of the Lincoln MS. its supposed original. Indeed, the number of passages in which the Dublin Codex differs from the printed Wetstein is scarcely more than double the number in which we find it to differ from the Lincoln MS. Would it therefore do any violence to common probability to suppose that both the Lincoln and the Montfortian MS. had been copied from the same original, retaining coincidences sufficient to mark their common origin and discrepancies enough to show that one was not a direct transcript from the other? Or we might go farther still, and suppose that they had both been copied from copies of the same MS., a supposition which would fairly account for the large number of discrepancies between the Lincoln and Montfortian codices. But it still remains to account for the omission of the famous text from so many Greek MSS. and for its presence in

the Montfortian. As to its absence from so many Greek MSS., there can be no doubt whatever that many Greek MSS. have been lost, and that time and accident must have been more busy with the ancient than with the comparatively modern MSS. Let us for a moment suppose the text to have existed in some ancient MS. from which the first of the defective MSS. was copied, and let us suppose the passage to have been omitted by the transcriber from his copy, whether by accident or design, and then we shall have that omission multiplied and perpetuated in all the MSS. copied from that first. It is by no means necessary to suppose that the omission was a suppression, and was made on purpose. According to the present enumeration of the verses, the seventh and eighth verses of 1 John v. end with the same words, *καὶ οὐτοις ὁ τρέχεις ἐν εἰσι*. Is it possible to imagine any more likely cause of omission than this circumstance with which biblical students are so familiar and which is of such frequent recurrence as to be known to them by a term of art, *ὅμοιοτέλευτον* or likeness of conclusion between successive members of sentences? The copyist having already transcribed the first number ending with the words *ἐν εἰσι*, has his eye carried on to what appears to him to be the next succeeding words, and, in point of fact, the next word he copies after the accidental omission of an entire member do come next in order to the same words as those which close the first member. A priori, a deliberate omission of the passage by the Arians, would be a much more likely occurrence than an interpolation by the Trinitarians. The Arians had more than once, possession of the principal churches of the East, and, but for the fact that in the keen controversies of the day there is no allusion to any such suppression, there is no improbability in supposing it to have been made, when those not very scrupulous gentlemen, the Arians, had a full opportunity for it. Nor, on the other hand, do those same controversies contain any imputation that the Latin versions in which the text appears, and which are of older date than the oldest Greek MSS. in existence, had been interpolated to bring in this passage, or that the Latin Fathers who have quoted the text in support of the Nicene doctrine were hitting foul. Critics adverse to the text dispose easily of the Latin authorities for the genuineness of the text. They simply throw them overboard without argument or

speculation, because they are Latin, and for no other reason. Now, with all respect for these critics, it appears from the best possible secondary evidence, that the passage existed in Latin versions as early as the time of St. Cyprian; for the saint himself quotes the passage as undoubted Scripture. We have also quotations of this passage as Scripture during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, when neither the Vatican nor Alexandrine MS. existed, and if we except those two MSS. which have no remarkable merit in themselves, we have Latin MSS. of far more respectable antiquity than any known Greek MS. The ancient copy of the Vulgate in the Library of La Sala, in uncial characters, and said by Cardinal Mai to belong to the seventh century, contains the text of the three witnesses in a slightly different shape. Then comes the "Libri de Speculo," referred to by M. de Valroger, and which Cardinal Wiseman, amongst others, estimates as belonging to the 6th or 7th century, and in which the writer strongly relies upon the text as proof of the Catholic doctrine. The quotations are all from the "Vetus Itala" or African Version, the first Latin translation of the Scriptures, and the MS. itself, besides being written in uncial characters, bears other undoubted marks of antiquity. Such is the short substance of the celebrated controversy regarding the text of the three witnesses, which modern German critics are disposed to treat very cavalierly, and which M. De Valroger discusses with much learning and judgment. The author is entitled to full credit for this chapter of the work, as it forms no part of the translations of which the body of M. De Valroger's introduction to the Holy Scriptures is composed. Upon the whole, M. De Valroger has given to the French public, and to Biblical students generally, a valuable compilation of well-selected and well put together materials for the critical study of the Scriptures. In France that study may be said to be in its infancy. As M. De Valroger has observed, the Revolution destroyed all the seats of ecclesiastical learning in France and in every country to which the direct influence of that revolution extended. All the ancient Universities as well as all the monasteries were suppressed, and the literary treasures which had accumulated in them for centuries, and had been there applied to one express purpose, the furtherance of ecclesiastical studies, were transferred

to state libraries, in which they remained like articles of vertû in a museum.

The Biblical student of the highest promise may perhaps be found at the present moment in an old cathedral town some fifty leagues from Paris, while it is nearly certain that all his books of reference are to be found in the Bibliothèque Impériale. There is, of course, a faculty of Theology in the University, but it is well understood to be of a purely formal character. It is a mere tradition of the old Sorbonne, it is in some sort the unquiet ghost of the University of Paris, still hovering near its ancient seat. The Faculty of Theology does little more than confer Theological Degrees upon the candidates for those distinctions. As a teaching body, or as a nursery of learned men, it cannot be said to exist.

The duty of teaching is substantially, if not altogether, thrown upon the Professors in the ecclesiastical seminaries throughout the country. And, considering the limited resources of those establishments, the only wonder is that so many works of merit and learning upon those matters should issue from the French press. What we have said of the function of teaching, as discharged by the Faculty of Theology in the University of France, must be taken with some qualification. The chair of moral theology is filled by one of the most eminent men, whether as a philosopher or as a divine, of whom Europe can boast. The Abbé Bautain, of one of whose works, "La Belle Saison, à la Campagne," there was a slight notice in this journal some years ago, is the occupant of that chair. His lectures are daily crowded by the studious youth of Paris, or, more properly speaking, of France. Young men in training for the bar, for what the French call "l'administration," for diplomacy, for the study of medicine, or of engineering; members, in a word, of all the special schools with which Paris abounds, crowd the benches of the Sorbonne in order to hear, not the doctrine, but the eloquence of the professor. He is well aware of the spirit in which they attend his lectures, and he arranges his lectures to meet their requirements. He knows perfectly well that many of those who listen with pleasure and with interest to a lecture upon moral theology, as a scientific dissertation, would never be tempted to listen to a sermon. It is his study, therefore, to make them acquainted in a popular form with the

truths of religion, while they believe that they simply follow a course of lectures delivered in a style which attracts and fascinates them. But this, as every one knows, is not a scientific treatment of moral theology, as it was understood in the old universities, and as it is still understood in the ecclesiastical seminaries. Nor, were there a chair of scripture filled in this way, would it contribute much to the critical study of the Scriptures, however much good it might effect otherwise. For this, as for any study that you may name, leisure and resources are needed ; and both of those are wanting in France. Nor is the want likely soon to be supplied ; although, beyond a doubt, it will be eventually supplied, should no worse days be in store for the Church of France than those upon which she has lately entered. Religious communities are springing up all over the French territory, not under state patronage, but of their own independent strength. Communities of this kind always accumulate the resources of which we have been speaking, slowly it may be, but fully and judiciously. M. De Valroger himself is an instance of this ; he is a member of the Oratory of the Immaculate Conception, one of those religious orders which not only spring up with the rapidity already noticed, but which soon strengthen themselves and seem to have every promise of duration. There is hardly one department in France without a Jesuit College, and if we do not find that modern Jesuits occupy the same place in literature which the order held before its suppression, it will not be very difficult to account for the circumstance. When the French empire was suddenly opened to the activity of the society in 1849, the harvest was great, but the labourers were few, and it was found almost impossible to meet the more pressing wants of the time. Diocese after diocese put forward its claims for a Jesuit College, but the society, during several years, had not wherewithal to satisfy the demands upon it. The French Jesuits were not then a numerous body ; some few remained in France and took their place amongst the secular clergy ; the majority, however, were distributed among the Swiss and Belgian Colleges ; and the inmates of the former had already been dispersed by the war of the Sonderbund, when liberty of education and freedom of association, to a limited extent, were granted to French subjects, under the administration of M. de Falloux.

At present, although the Jesuits' colleges have been in operation some fourteen years, and others for shorter periods, it is not to be supposed that within such a space of time the society could withdraw subjects from the more active duties of literary and pastoral teaching, for what may be called the closet work of literature. In the course of time it will be different. The houses of the society have a great power of reproduction, and we may expect, that in proportion as the numerical strength of the body increases, many of its members can be spared for services more varied than can be allotted to them now. Meanwhile the book before us is sufficient evidence that sound biblical studies are gaining upon the French taste. Hitherto, since the suppression of the society, and of the old universities, Greek scholarship has been at a low ebb in France, notwithstanding the production of some dictionaries and school books of undoubted merit. This is attributable in a great measure to the limited academical course which precedes the baccalauréat, supposed to correspond with the bachelorship of arts, the lowest degree in our universities. The candidate for the "Baccalauréat" has seldom reached his twentieth year, and presents himself for his degree after a course of studies not much more extensive than the entrance course for any British University. Most commonly he crams for this examination from a thick book called the "Manuel du Baccalauréat." A Frenchman generally, as far as Greek is concerned, resembles the Professor in the Vicar of Wakefield, who had his three hundred florins a year without Greek, and his doctor's cap without Greek, and who therefore could not see the good of Greek. In this respect the Germans as well as the English have a great advantage, and it is hardly to be expected that France will outstrip or rival either England or Germany while her present university system remains unaltered. It does not favour deep or solid studies, and at one period a French minister of public instruction was not ashamed to say that what academical studies in France had lost in depth they had gained in surface; as if any gain in surface could make up for the loss of depth. There are, however, indications that this state of things is drawing to a close; and that, although serious literature may have been impoverished and the French mind may have been crippled during one or two generations, by state interference with

public teaching, still the intellect of a people in every way so great will outgrow the swaddling bands that tie it up in this second infancy which has been forced upon it. It need hardly be said that the revival of Biblical studies is amongst the most healthy of the symptoms to which we have alluded. It is impossible to have any measure of success in those studies without sound learning. To write a commonly decent book upon the subjects treated by M. De Valroger you must have solid and respectable reading at the very least. Shallow reading is more endurable in any thing else than in scriptural criticism, because, however strange and fanciful may be the theories of German critics, their learning is unquestionable. Nor, in our opinion, can any more effectual corrective be applied to the dreaminess and obscurity of German notions upon those matters than can be derived from the clear mind and transparent style of a French scholar such as M. De Valroger.

ART. IV.—1. "*All the Year Round*," No. 117, July 20, 1861.

2. "*Secret Instructions of the Jesuits.*"

3. Correspondence between Dr. R. R. Madden and Charles Dickens, Esq.

"WE no sooner answer one of their satires but they have half a dozen more ready to be published. They keep magazines full of them: they have them remitted from all parts of the world. Those that were refuted a hundred years ago, on which the world laughed as though they were not refuted, they revive again at present, with the same confidence as if they were new pieces or had remained unanswered."*

In the article headed "*Secret Instructions of the Jesuits,*" published in Mr. Dickens' periodical above referred to, of the 20th of July last, the following passages occur:—

* Tellier, in reference to the charge of neglecting to answer habitual calumniators.

"A copy (of the *Monita Secreta Societatis Jesu*) of which recent reprint in Paris three Editions in Paris have been sold in ten days, and the fourth is already out, dressed in red and black (the garb of a melodramatic demon), with the Latin original and a French translation on opposite pages, is now lying on the writer's table. ...

"If the deed (of republication) has been done with Imperial connivance, it can hardly have obtained Jesuitical permission. On the contrary, there is a loud ultramontane shout denying the authenticity of the document; but to dissipate all doubts on the subject, it suffices to turn to history, and compare the conduct of the Society of Jesus with the secret instructions now divulged to the world. This is not the first time they have been brought to light; but every time the Society has contrived to secure the copies, and put them out of sight, as soon as the first excitement of publicity had passed away. The Superiors of the Jesuits are ordered to retain and to hold these private instructions, with great care, in their own hands, and to communicate them only to a few of the professed; some of the instructions may be imparted to non-professed persons, when advantage to the Society is likely to follow; but it must be done under the seal of secrecy, and not as if they were written rules, but merely suggestions drawn from the actual experience of the person who gives the advice.

"Special care is ordered to be taken that these admonitions fall not into the hands of strangers, who might put upon them an unfavourable construction, through envy of the Order. Should such ever happen (*quod absit!*—far be it from us!), it must be stoutly denied that these are the real sentiments of the Society, confirming the assertion by calling to witness such members as remain still in ignorance, and by opposing to these the general instructions and the printed or the written rules."

"The place of confessor is, with all Catholic princes, a sort of ministerial office more or less powerful, according to the age, the passions, the temper, and the intelligence of the penitent.

"Père Lachaise held this post for a long period, and obtained for his Society great consideration. Supple, polite, adroit, with a cultivated mind, gentle manners, and an even temper, he knew how to alarm or to soothe his penitent's conscience according to occasion, and never lost sight of his own interests nor of those of his Company. A masked opponent of all opposite parties, he spoke of them with moderation, and even praised some few individuals belonging to them. A few days before his death, he said to the king, 'Sire, I entreat you to do me the favour to choose my successor out of our Company. It is extremely attached to your majesty; but it is very wide-spread, very numerous, and composed of very different characters, who are all very susceptible touching the glory of the corporation. No one could answer for it if it fell into disgrace; and a fatal blow is soon struck.' The king was so surprised at this address, that he mentioned it to Marechal, his head

surgeon, who spoke of it to other intimate friends. A fatal blow is easily struck, in more than one way. Pope Clement XIV. issued in 1774, a bull abolishing the Society of Jesuits, and was poisoned very shortly afterwards.

"Apropos to which policy we will dip into the second chapter of the instructions : 'How the Fathers of the Society are to acquire and keep the intimacy of princes, great men, and persons of the highest consideration.'

"Above all things, every effort must be made to gain the ear and the mind of princes and persons of the first quality everywhere, in order that no one may dare to rise up against us, but, on the contrary, may be compelled to depend upon us. But, as experience teaches that princes and great men are particularly well affected toward ecclesiastics, who conceal their odious acts and put a favourable interpretation upon them—such as their marriages within the prohibited degrees of kindred and the like—they are to be spurred on in such and similar conduct, under the hope of obtaining through our agency such dispensations from the Pope, which his holiness will grant, reasons being given, and precedents quoted, and arguments adduced, having for their pretext the common good and the greater glory of God, which is the object of the Society.....

"The wives of princes are most easily to be gained through their *femmes de chambre*, for which purpose they are to be made much of by every possible means, for thus we shall obtain access to every circumstance, even the most secret, which occurs in the family."...

"How to gain rich widows for the Soicity" furnishes a chapter of considerable interest. For this purpose must be selected Fathers advanced in age, of a lively complexion and agreeable conversation. Let them visit these widows, and as soon as they perceive in them any liking for the Society, let them place at their disposal the good offices and the spiritual merits of the Society. If they accept, and begin to visit our churches, let them be provided with a confessor, by whom they may be well directed, with the intention of keeping them in their widowhood, by enumerating and lauding its advantages and pleasures. He may promise and answer for their certainly thus obtaining eternal bliss and avoiding the pains of purgatory.

"Women who complain of their husbands' vices and the sorrow they cause them, may be taught that they may secretly take any sum of money needful to expiate their husbands' sins and purchase their pardon.

"From these specimens, 'The choice of young people to be admitted into the Society, and the mode of retaining them,' 'How to behave to nuns and devotees,' and other equally racy chapters, may be imagined to a certain extent."*

On July the 27th, 1861, Dr. Madden addressed a letter to

* "All the Year Round," 20 July, 1861.

Mr. Dickens which was forwarded to him and left *at his residence* by a literary friend in London. A carefully-written statement accompanied that letter, in refutation of the authenticity of the publication entitled "Secret Instructions of the Jesuits," which had been dealt with as a genuine trustworthy production in the periodical conducted by Mr. Dickens. In that statement, drawn up upwards of nine years ago by Dr. Madden, on the occasion of another reprint of the same fraudulent production, Dr. Madden showed from eminent historical writers, critics, and men of learning too, of high character, that the "Monita Secreta," or so-called "Secret Instructions" of the Jesuits was a spurious production, a literary or rather a polemical imposture that had been fabricated with the design of defaming and discrediting the Order of the Jesuits, and had been frequently republished during the past two centuries with the same malignant intention.

Dr. Madden therefore called on Mr. Dickens to give insertion to that statement and the letter that accompanied it in the same periodical in which the calumnious article had appeared, in justice to those who had been outraged by it.

Unfortunately the only copy of that letter that was in the hands of Dr. Madden was sent to a gentleman connected with the press by whom it has been mislaid. The following, however, is the substance of it.

Dr. Madden was quite sure that the very objectionable article published in Mr. Dickens' periodical of "All the Year Round," of the 20th July, had been inserted therein without his knowledge or assent. It was replete with calumnies involving charges of murder, swindling, falsehood, treason, and hypocrisy; not against one man or several men, but against an entire community of men professing to be ministers of religion and members of a Christian institution.

In more than one of the works of Mr. Dickens, the baseness, meanness, and cowardice of calumny were depicted in strong colours. It would be needless to point out to him the inconsistency of men calling themselves Christians who, in their ruthless enmity to persons who are not not of their creed, cast aside all feelings of regard for their fellow men, all sentiments of piety and charity, all sense of justice in regard to them, and, utterly forgetful of the obligations they owe to the claims of humanity,

mangle the characters of their brethren who differ with them in religion, outrage all laws, divine and human, and "despise their own flesh."

It would be needless to observe to Mr. Dickens that calumny was a vile weapon, and was generally found in the hands only of malignant, unmanly, reckless, and vindictive persons.

It would also be unnecessary to observe to Mr. Dickens that the crime of calumny, whether it was committed against the exalted and popular or those who were not in either category, was the same outrage on morals, and that it did not matter whether the person calumniated was a Jesuit or the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Prince Consort. The character of a Jesuit was as dear to him as that of either of those exalted personages. And if he was slandered the same justice would be due to him at the hands of those by whom he had been wronged, that the most illustrious personages in the land, if similarly wronged, would be entitled to.

On these grounds Dr. Madden called on Mr. Dickens to give insertion in his journal to the present communication and to the following statement in refutation of the authenticity of the "*Monita Secreta*," which Dr. Madden had published in the "*Catholic Guardian*," June 12th, 1852.

PIOUS FRAUDS AND FORGERIES ON THE JESUITS.

A Treatise is now in large circulation in this city, and in all the principal towns in England, ascribing to the Society of Jesus, and the religion they profess and defend, all the atrocious crimes which can be conceived or committed, including in the frightful catalogue of enormities, murder, robbery, perjury, prevarication, sacrilege, cupidity, hypocrisy, and impiety in all its forms, a devotion in a few words, of all the powers of the mind, all the feelings of the heart, all the influences and aspirations of the soul of man, to the service of the satanic spirit of lies, lust, avarice, and ambition!

This terrible impeachment is made on the alleged evidence of a code of instructions framed by the Jesuits for the religious government and regulation of the order of which Loyola was the founder, and which necessarily makes him an accessory to and an accomplice of murderous men who devised most iniquitous schemes and measures.

The work we have referred to is a new edition, and English version of a Latin work that made its first appearance in print in 1612. It was stated to have been discovered in Germany and purported to be secret instructions of the Jesuits for the use of the members of their order. It was first translated into English and

published by Compton "the acute and learned Bishop of London" in 1669, and having been again "done into English" recently in London, is now being circulated most extensively. This last edition has completed a stock of slander for circulation, among the Saints of the United Kingdom, of twenty-nine thousand copies. The former edition in 12mo. with the Latin on one side and the English on the other, entitled "*Secreta monita Societatis Jesu,*" was published in London by Seeley in 1824.

The slanderous book that so scandalously maligns a great body of the clergy of the Roman Catholic religion, and that has been so unscrupulously adopted and circulated by the ministers of another church, is thus entitled :—

"The Secret Oath, and a Fresh Translation of the Secret Instructions of the Order of the Jesuits. With a slight sketch of the Society and its principles, from their own accredited standard works, their actions on the testimony of Roman Catholic authorities, and their strenuous exertions at this moment to overturn every constituted authority throughout the Empire of Great Britain, to establish their own sovereignty." &c. &c.

"Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing but inwardly they are raving wolves." Matt. vii, 15. Twenty-ninth thousand. Seeley and Co., Fleet Street, London, 1848."

The introduction commences with the following paragraph :—

"As the members of this Society are now *unsuspectedly* (by the great body of the people of this country) working themselves into all our institutions in Church and State throughout the Empire of Great Britain, it seems important to set forth, in a form for extensive circulation, who and what the Jesuits are, by a plain statement of facts, to accompany the disclosures of their *real* training, as laid down in their *standard* works, *secret* instructions and *secret* oath, that the public being in possession of the *truth*, may as they value their civil and religious privileges set themselves to oppose and expose the *stealthy* progress of the fearful order, in the *treacherous* and *deceitful* operations, it is now carrying out for the destruction of this country."

A little further on we are informed :—

"The assassinations brought home to this body are innumerable—they have a secret form for *consecrating* individuals for *assassination*, (see the ceremony in Dalton's work,) after which the assassin is not allowed out of sight of four Jesuits until the deed is perpetrated. All efforts of our authorities to trace assassins must continue ineffectual so long as Jesuit Colleges are tolerated in the country. Their indirect influence accomplishes the dark deed while they escape detection. They assassinated Henry IV. of France, after fifty plots : Innocent the XIII : the Prince of Orange. They formed numerous plans to destroy Elizabeth of England—amongst

them 'a poisoned chair.' All these facts prove the carrying out into action the following principles laid down in the Jesuits' acknowledged accredited defended standard works."

Towards the conclusion the loyalty of all subjects having Protestant souls to be saved in these kingdoms is seasonably alarmed by the following blast of the No-Popery trumpet :—

" Is it to be expected that Queen Victoria will long be permitted to wield the sceptre of Great Britain, if this body is allowed to exercise its *secret* influence as it is now doing for the *annihilation* of all that is valuable in the British Constitution, both in Church and State? We ask again what can any rational man expect from the toleration of a society, trained up in the system developed in these and the following small portion of the extracts which might be given if space permitted ?"

Then comes the final mysterious note of preparation for the great revelation of the mystery of all iniquity. " In imitation of the Oracular voice of the obscure Sphinx," some dread notes of admonition and solemn warning are given :—

" We will now," quoth the editor, " give their secret oath and secret instruction, guarding the reader against any denial of the Jesuits on the subject of either—words against facts are not worthy of a passing thought : they were found in several of the Colleges from which they were expelled, and are to be seen in MS. at the end of the work published in Venice in 1596, now in the Library of the British Museum. But their conduct as delineated by the Roman Catholics themselves, is the most conclusive evidence to the positive fact that they act upon exactly such instructions."

Then follows an extract from the Secret Oath, which every member of the Order of Jesuits is obliged to take in the most solemn manner:

" I do renounce and disown any allegiance as due to any heretical king, prince, or state, named Protestants, or obedience to any of their inferior magistrates or officers. I do further declare that the doctrine of the Church of England, of the Calvinists, Huguenots, and of other of the name of Protestants to be damnable, and they themselves are damned, and to be damned, that will not forsake the same. I do further declare that I will help, assist, and advise all or any of his Holiness' agents in any place wherever I shall be, in England, Scotland, or Ireland, or in any other territory or kingdom I shall come to, and do my utmost to extirpate the heretical Protestants' doctrine, and to destroy all their pretended powers, regal or otherwise. I do further promise and declare that I am dispensed with to assume any heretical religion for the propagation of Mother Church's interest".....

The amiable editor of the secret oath and instructions of the Jesuits, shocked as he evidently is at this awful aspect of Jesuitism here so reluctantly shown forth by him in its true colours, in the innocence of his guileless nature asks, "Can any thing be more appalling?"

The Secret Oath being disposed of, "the Secret Instructions of the Jesuits" are then given to the Protestant public, and these are contained in seventeen chapters of densely printed matter, more iniquitous in its nature than any that the perverted ingenuity of man ever put together before or since the fabrication of these so-called instructions.

It is to be borne in mind that the history of the discovery of these marvellous arcana is thus given by the editor of the last English version, in an extract taken from the French edition of the work.

"This little collection was formerly known under the name of the 'Monita Secreta,' and certainly amongst the multitude of writings brought to light through the quarrels of the Jesuits, none surpass this in curiosity. All their mysteries are here developed, it's an exact representation of the moral and political working of all past or existing usurpations—it's a little ultramontanic encyclopedia, and there is nothing so perfect besides it, except 'the Prince' of Machiavelli. It was found in the Jesuits' College, in Paderborn, in Westphalia, when Christian, Duke of Brunswick, took possession of that place."

Now, the persons who published, and re-published, and who circulated this work, cannot possibly be ignorant of its being spurious, and having been fabricated for malicious purposes, and could never have believed in its authenticity, had they made any critical enquiry into the origin of it, or had even given any commonly careful attention to the perusal of it.

The majority of the readers of our fashionable No Popery productions, in charity it is to be hoped, are incapable of examining a work of this kind, with the critical acumen that is requisite for a due understanding of it. They are accustomed to be thought for by others, and are unused, unable, and disinclined to think for themselves on any subject relating to Rome and Romanism, terms which are synomines with them for superstition and debasement of the soul and understanding. Otherwise, surely before they gave implicit faith to the account of the alleged discovery of this iniquitous production, they would have enquired into the question of its authenticity.

It would be useless to refer them to the pages of the astute Bayle, the enemy of the Jesuit Order, but also a critic, with some sense of the obligations of truth and justice for information respecting the origin of such a work as "La Religion des Jesuits," or its counterpart, "Secret Instructions of the Jesuits." It would be

useless, of course, to expect of them, that before they received a book as genuine most detrimental to the character and principles of thousands of members of a Christian community, they would have inquired into its authenticity of authorities capable of affording them just information. But those who re-edited and republished this work, were mostly ministers of the Gospel, who ought to have consulted the duly authorized and legitimate defenders of the impugned Order; they should have referred to the "Histoire Religieuse Politique Literaire, De La Compagnie de Jesus, Composée sur les documents inédits et authentiques," Par J. Cretineau Joly. En 5 Tomes 8vo. Paris, 1815. There, in the first volume, page 84, they would read:—

"The Constitutions of Loyola are such as were left by him at his death. We ourselves have compared them with the Spanish text at the principal house of the Jesu at Rome. They have been composed at different intervals, and addressed in manuscript to the first members of the company for approval and promulgation. Some of them, it is true, seem to an inattentive observer to have been detached in the process of editing, but on reflection they will be found to have been framed in the same intelligence. This is the only legislation given by Loyola, and it is in force everywhere amongst the Order. *As for concealed instructions—secret monitions—* which, according to the enemies of the Order, should regulate their mode of life, or teach them the means of governing the world—there was never anything of the kind in the Society of Jesus. The company only knew them as the world did, when they were invented and sent forth on their wicked errands (*lors quelles furent inventées et jetées à la malignité publique.*")

In the third volume of Bayle's Critical Dictionary, 2nd edition^{art.} Loyola, page 891, they would find these words :

"The fate of the Jesuits and that of Cataline are much the same. Several accusations were given in against him without any proof, but they met with credit on this general argument:—Since he has done such a thing, he is very capable of having done this, and it is very possible he has done the rest."

Bayle goes on commenting on a work published at the Hague in his day, entitled, "The Religion of the Jesuits."

"The author," he says, "confesses that the prejudice against those gentlemen is so general, that whatever attestations of innocence they fortify themselves with, it is impossible to undeceive the world." This anti-Jesuit author gives many singular proofs of the truth of his allegation, and in regard to them Bayle observes ;—

"He means that a man need only confidently publish whatever he pleases against the Jesuits, to be assured that abundance of people will believe it. I believe him to be in the right; at least

that in this he will prove a true prophet. It was doubtless on this presumption that he published the story of Vienna, (of a Jesuit conspiracy to poison the Emperor of Germany in the Blessed Sacrament,) though he believed it false. But if other authors have taken the same method, what will become of all the facts which the enemies of the Jesuits have published? Should we not have reason to believe that they have divulged several which they knew to be false or doubtful, and which, nevertheless, on their reckoning would appear as certain, and be received as undoubtful facts? I cannot think the rules of morality will allow of the making so ill a use of public prejudice. They command us to be equitable towards all, and never to represent people worse than they are."—Bayle. Art. on Loyola, p. 892. Des Maizeaux's 2nd Ed. 1736.

In a very rare work in our possession, entitled "Fasti Societatis Jesu Res et Personas Memorables Ejusdem Societis opera et studio Rev. P. Joannis Drews," (Praga 1750, Tom. Ius. p. 167.) among the memorable occurrences of year 1616, we find a record of the condemnation, by the Sacred Congregation of the Index, of the book entitled "Monita Privata Societis Jesu," "anno 1616 a S. Congregatione Indicis prohibitus est liber, cui titulus Monita Privata Societatis Jesu."

In 1848, a tract in Italian was published in Palermo, entitled, "Difesa della Compagnia de Jesu contro Antichi e Recenti Calomnie. Per Gulielmo Turner Della Medesima Compagnia." At page 64 the author gives the history of this calumny of the "Istruzioni Segreti." "Some manuscript copies of this work began, (he says) to be disseminated in 1611, and from some internal evidence it was supposed the author of this imposture was a Pole. The first printed copy of it appeared in Cracow, in 1612, and the account given of its origin was that the MS. was procured in Venice, had been brought there from Padua, and had been faithfully translated from the Spanish, which statement was generally disbelieved. "La qual favola non fu creduta de nessuno."

It was condemned in 1615, at Cracow, as an infamous and calumnious forgery, by the Bishop of Cracow, Monsignor Tylicki, who was desirous of instituting legal proceedings against the author, who was suspected to be a certain Jerome Tzaorowski, a member of the Company of Jesus, who in 1611, had been turned out of the society for turbulent conduct. But it appears that the fact could not be proved, and there were persons who attributed the work to a Bohemian heretic, others to Osiander. In the "Dizionario degli anonimi e dei Pseudonimi," tom. 3, the author Barbier, no great admirer of the Jesuits, acknowledges that the "Monita Secreta" is an apocryphal book.

In fact it is utterly impossible to read any of several refutations, old and new, of the authenticity of this infamous work, without being fully convinced that it was a literary imposture devised and ex-

cuted by the enemies of the Jesuits, to calumniate and discredit them.

Finally, it was condemned at Rome by the Sacred Congregation, and the decree of its condemnation is dated 10th May, 1616, as "falsely attributed to the Jesuits, calumnious and full of defamations," and therefore it was placed on the Index, as a forbidden book, "Difesa della Compagnia," p. 64.

About the same time this infamous book was proved to be a forgery by several Catholic writers, Jesuits and others, as Adam Tanner (Matthew Bembo) and the Jesuit Gretser, by the orders of the General of the Order, Aquaviva. Nevertheless, though nothing was wanting to the proofs of the utter falsehood of the charge against the Jesuits as being the authors of this work, various editions of it appeared in Protestant countries, and it continued to be read by Protestants as a genuine Jesuit performance. It was most clearly proved that the alleged original discovery of this work in MS. in the Jesuit College of Paderborn in Westphalia, by the Duke Christian of Brunswick, when he sacked the said College, could not have been true, inasmuch as the said sacking took place in 1622, and the book was printed at Cracow ten years previously, and had been condemned at Rome so early as 1616, six years before this "original discovery" of the work by the Duke of Brunswick.

It must be borne in mind that this foul calumny on the Jesuit Order, published in Mr. Dickens' periodical, would have been comparatively innocuous if the writer of it had not at the very commencement of the article taken on himself the task of vindicating the authenticity of this book, and imputing the conduct of the Jesuit Society to the principles proclaimed in the Secret Instructions. The following passage fully supports this grave charge:—

"There is a loud ultramontane shout denying the authenticity of the document; but to dissipate all doubts on the subject, it suffices to turn to history, and compare the conduct of the Society of Jesus with the secret instructions now divulged to the world. This is not the first time they have been brought to light; but every time the Society has contrived to secure the copies, and put them out of sight, as soon as the first excitement of publicity had passed away."

In reply to Dr. Madden's communication to Mr. Dickens of the 27th of July the following answer was received, in regard to which it is unnecessary to do more than to express feelings of deep concern for the injury Mr. Dickens has inflicted on his journal and on himself.

(Copy.)

"Office of 'All the Year Round,'
11, Wellington Street, N. Strand,
29th July, 1861.

"Sir,

"In answer to your letter of the 27th inst., addressed to Mr. Charles Dickens, I beg to point out to you that we gave the origin, mode of publication, and reproduction of the 'Monita Secreta,' in full detail, in order that our readers may judge of the authenticity of the translation for themselves. Nothing in your letter invalidates our statements, and as for these alone we are responsible, we think it better not to open a troublesome controversy by publishing your letter; necessarily the consequence of such a revelation appearing in any form, would be strong contradictions of its truthfulness from the Jesuit party.

"Believe me,

"Faithfully yours,

(Signed)

"W. H. WELLS."

To R. R. Madden, Esq.

To the above communication no reply was made.

ART. V.—1. *The Noble and Gentle Men of England.* By Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq. M.P. F.S.A. (Second Edition.) 1860. London: J. B. Nichols and Sons.

2. *The County Families, or Royal Manual of the Titled and Untitled Aristocracy of the three Kingdoms,* by Edward Walford, M.A. formerly Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. London: Hardwicke, 1860.

TIT is strange that in the midst of this prosaic, commercial, and utilitarian age, so strong a tide of taste should be setting in, as appears to be the case, in favour of genealogical studies. At first sight it would seem to be almost unaccountable, were it not all but certain that, together with the study of Gothic architecture, and the revival of mediæval principles in the erection of our churches throughout the length and breadth of the land, a vast amount of long dormant zeal has been called forth of late in favour of what is ancient, and venerable, and worthy of respect and regard, at least on æsthetic grounds. Accordingly, in the wake of Church architecture and Church embroidery, we believe that genealogy and the sister

science of heraldry have floated in with the tide, which at present shows no signs of ebbing.

We cannot, of course, have other than most pleasing and hopeful feelings at witnessing the revival of a public taste for anything that can plead antiquity as a ground for challenging veneration: and therefore we welcome most cordially the return of a retrospective tendency, believing that from cherishing it some good will of necessity result, over and above the merely utilitarian advantages for which we can imagine it encouraged by the Manchester manufacturer and Liverpool merchant—such, for instance, as the likelihood of its throwing light upon cases where titles or property are in dispute. Such a man would say, (and rightly too,) that if genealogical studies had been in favour a century and a half ago, the "Great Shrewsbury case" would have been cut short, or more probable still, would never have arisen; a long and costly litigation would have been avoided, and the lawyers' pockets would have been sufferers *pro tanto*; and we should have had the satisfaction of knowing that the question at stake between Lord Talbot and the young Lord E. B. Howard was transferred from the domain of probability to that of fact, and that the right man was in the right place beyond all dispute.

The two works above mentioned, by Mr. Shirley and Mr. Walford, are the two most recent efforts to meet the current of this popular taste, by giving the public the same kind of information about the pedigree, connexions, &c. of the leading landowners of the country, whether titled or untitled, with which the "Peerages" of the last century and a half, from Collins down to Burke and Lodge, have made us familiar. But when we have said this, we have stated the only point in which the two books are identical. In the application of the principle Mr. Shirley and Mr. Walford are as far apart as the poles—the former advocating the necessity of confining the term "County Families" to the very strictest limits possible, while the latter includes in his catalogue every family that, by hook or by crook, can pretend to hold any position in the county to which it may chance to belong—embracing every High-Sheriff and ex-High-Sheriff, and every Deputy Lieutenant about whom he has been able to ascertain the needful particulars, and even very many

of the local magistracy, if they happen to be well connected by birth or marriage.

Mr. Shirley, however, shall state the rule on which he has proceeded in his own words.

"The following imperfect attempt to bring together a few notes relating to the ancient aristocracy of England, is confined in the first place to the families *now existing*, and regularly established either as kingly or as gentle houses before the commencement of the 16th century: secondly, no notice is taken of those families who may have assumed the name and arms of their ancestors in the *female line*: for the truth is, as it has been well observed, that 'unless we take the male line as the general standard of genealogical rank, we shall find ourselves in a hopeless state of confusion':* thirdly, illegitimate descent is of course excluded; and fourthly, where families have sold their original estates, they will be noticed in those counties in which they are at present seated: if however they still possess the ancient estate of their family, though they may reside in another county, they will be mentioned, for the most part, under that county whence they originally sprung."

"In those cases where the whole landed estate of the family has been dissipated, although the male line still remains, all notice is omitted, such families having no longer any claim to be classed in any county. For 'ancient dignity was territorial rather than personal; the whole system was rooted in land; and even in the present day, though the land may have changed hands after, it has carried along with it some of that sentiment of regard attached to the Lordship of it, as surely as its earth has the fresh smell which it gives forth when upturned by the husbandman'†

"This list also, it must be remembered, does not profess to give an account of all those families whose descent may possibly be traced beyond the year 1500, but merely of those who were in the position of what we should now call '*County Families*' before that period. Indeed the line of demarcation between the families who rose upon the ruins of the monastic system, and the more ancient aristocracy of England, is often very difficult to be traced, depending as it does on documentary evidence often inaccessible and obscured by the fanciful and often too favourable deductions of the heralds of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."

On the other hand, Mr. Walford, in his preface, remarks very justly: "I am well aware that such a book as this must always remain, in one sense, imperfect, in a country like our own, where, mainly owing to the influ-

* Quarterly Review, January 1858. p. 37.

† Quarterly Review, January 1858, p. 31.

ence of trade and commerce, individuals are constantly crossing and re-crossing the narrow line, which severs the aristocracy from the commonalty."

It will at once be seen from this that whereas, Mr. Shirley's work, once done, will be complete, and, at all events, incapable of being increased in size, that of Mr. Walford is really infinite in point of extent, and such as, when he has devoted to it the labour of a life-time, must present at best a very remote approximation to perfection.

The rigid and really crucial test to which Mr. Shirley has subjected his "*Noble and Gentlemen of England*" is one which we were prepared to believe would have operated rather severely upon both our titled nobility and our untitled aristocracy. But really, until we saw the result in print, we were not prepared for the very small residuum which it leaves behind, after eliminating the more modern pretenders to the rank of "*generosi*." We must remember, in speaking of Mr. Shirley's work, that he includes only England in the scope of his book, ignoring the existence of Welsh, Irish, and Scottish antiquity; (subjects to which, for all that we know, he may intend to devote another volume,) and also that he gives only one member of each family, and that the chief or head—except, we believe, in one single instance, for which he may perhaps be forgiven—we mean where he places his cousin, Earl Ferrers, under the Shirleys of Eatington, instead of ranging the latter under the wing of the noble Earl. Thus, for instance, we find the Marquis of Winchester, though premier Marquis of England, ranged under the Pouletts of Hinton, county Somerset, now represented by Earl Poulett; Viscount Falkland, under the Carys of Tor Abbey, Devon; the Marquis of Donegall under the Chichesters of Youlton; the Earl of Mount Edgecumbe under the Edgcumbes of Edgcumbe, Devon; Lord Skelmersdale under the Wilbrahams of Delamere; and the Earl of Verulam under the Grimstons of Grimston Garth.

Again, the exclusion of all descents which have been tainted by passing through a single female operates most severely on half the members of the House of Peers whose titles are of the highest antiquity—such as Trevor, Lord Dacre; Touchet, Lord Audley; Stapleton, Lord Le Despencer; De Ros, Lord de Ros; Mostyn, Lord Vaux of Harrowden; Fox, Lord Conyers; Verney, Lord Wil-

loughby de Broke; Drummond-Willoughby, Lord Willoughby d' Eresby. On the same principle, (even if there were no other grounds for their exclusion) Mr. Shirley eliminates from his category the Pagets, Lords Paget, (now Marquis of Anglesey) because the last two generations are not Pagets at all, but Bailies; so too His Grace the Duke of Northumberland knocks in vain at the door of Mr. Shirley, who roughly and contemptuously (in effect) tells him to go away, for that he is no Percy but a Smithson. In like manner he objects to recognise the right of the Dukes of Wellington and Marlborough, to appear among his noble and gentle men, the one being not a Churchill, but a Spencer, (and, in that case, owing allegiance to his head and representative, the present Earl Spencer), and the other not a Wellesley but a Colley. For this too, or for other reasons, (more or less obvious to the genealogical student) we observe that Mr. Shirley makes no mention of the great houses of Montagu, Dukes of Manchester and Earls of Sandwich; of Somerset, Dukes of Beaufort; of Devereux, Viscounts Hereford; of Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; of Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon; of Vane, Earls of Darlington, and Dukes of Cleveland; of Bathurst, Earls Bathurst, and several others of the highest order—some of whom (including the families of Herbert and Bathurst) seem to us to fulfil the very stringent conditions which Mr. Shirley has laid down in his preface.

The result of the application of so very strict a rule is to be seen in the fact that after the most wide and careful search through every accessible work of reference in the shape of a County History, Mr. Shirley (to use an Oxford phrase) plucks all candidates for admission into his select order, except about 325 or 330 families who have passed the ordeal and obtained their *testamur of satisfecit examinatori*. This result, however, is one which cannot but suggest some sad thoughts in the retrospect, when one considers how many of our Lamiæ and Junii fell beneath the axe of the remorseless and relentless Henry, and of this daughter Elizabeth—to say nothing of those who threw away, not only their lives but their families, in the Wars of the Roses, and in the Great Rebellion, while fighting under the standard of royalty.

It is not a little singular, and not a little interesting to our readers to know that among the above families the

following Catholic houses are found, after a searching enquiry, to satisfy the requirements of Mr. Shirley :—Sir John Acton of Aldenham; Acton of Wolverton; Lord Arundell of Wardour; Sir Henry Bedingfeld of Oxburgh; Sir Edward Blount of Sodington; Mr. Bodenham of Rotherwas; Mr. Berrington of Winsley; Mr. Cary of Tor Abbey; Mr. Clavering of Callaly Castle; Lord Clifford of Chudleigh; Mr. Eccleston of Scarisbrick;* Mr. Eyston of East Hendred; Mr. Ferrers of Baddery Clinton; Mr. Fitzherbert of Norbury; Sir Robert Gerard of Bryn; Sir J. Haggerston of Ellingham; Mr. Hanford of Wollashall; the Howards, Dukes of Norfolk; the Jerninghams (Lords Stafford) of Cossey; the Plowdens of Plowden; the Salvins of Croxdale; the Scropes of Danby; the Selbys of Biddleston; the Stomors (Lords Camoys) of Stonor; the Lords Stourton; the Tempests of Broughton; Sir R. G. Throckmorton of Coughton; Sir James Doughty-Tichborne of Tichborne; the Towneleys of Towneley; Sir H. de Trafford of Trafford; the Turviles of Husband Bosworth; the Watertons of Walton; the Welds of Lulworth Castle; the Whitgreaves of Moseley; the Wolseleys of Wolseley; the Wreys of Trebigh; the Wyberghs of Clifton; the Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury; the Ropers, Lords Teynham; the Giffards of Chillington; the Swinburnes of Capheaton, &c. The last four families named in this list, we are aware, are no longer represented by Catholic heads, but they have adhered to the old faith down to so recent a date that we have thought it best to include them along with the rest.

As Mr. Shirley's principle is that of exclusiveness, Mr. Walford appears to us to err on the side of laxity, and to grant admission to his "County Families" on too easy terms. We notice there the names of persons who not only do not now hold land or own a seat in any of our counties, but who cannot point to parents or grandfathers that have ever maintained the position of "County Families." No doubt it is with the view of making his work serviceable as a Directory of the Upper Ten Thousand that he has included, as far as possible, not only the Magistracy and the Deputy Lieutenancy of each county,

* Since deceased.

but almost every living person who either holds or has held a seat in Parliament. Thus we find Mr. Edwin James recorded, and Mr. Chisholm Anstey, Mr. J. F. Maguire, and Mr. J. P. Murrough, not one of whom has any pretensions to a place in such a work, if the author adheres to his title. In a future edition he will do well to remedy these defects, and also to exclude, however highly born and connected, all such clergymen as have not a real *bona fide* and permanent connection with their several counties, as being both parsons and squires at once, or at least as patrons of the livings they hold; for when this is not the case, although they may happen to have been placed in the commission of the peace, death or promotion severs the local tie, and the Rev. Mr. Smith who appears in the edition for 1860 as Vicar of Sleep-cum-Snorley in the Fens, will figure in 1862 as Rector of the populous but well endowed parish of Drowsyton in —shire.

We give the following specimens of the notices of Catholic families as they stand in Mr. Walford's work which will serve as a sample of the performance.

"WHITGREAVE, George Thomas, Esq. (of Moseley Court).

Only surviving son of the late Thomas Henry Francis Whitgreave, Esq., of Moseley, by Mary, dau. of John Lockley, Esq., of Sardaw, co. Stafford; b. 1787; s. 1816; m. 1st 1814 Amelia, dau. of Benjamin Hodges, Esq., of London (she d. 1848); 2nd 1849 Charlotte Juliana, eldest dau. of the late Admiral the Hon. Sir John Talbot, G.C.B. (she d. 1854); 3rd 1856 Mary Anne, dau. of — Sandford, Esq. Is a Magistrate and Dep. Lieut. for co. Stafford (High Sheriff 1837). This family were settled at Whitgreave, co. Stafford, in the reign of King John. His ancestor, Mr. Whitgreave, sheltered Charles II. at Moseley Court after the battle of Worcester.—Moseley Court, near Wolverhampton, Staffordshire; 22, Eaton square, S.W.

Heir, his son Henry Benjamin George, b. 1816; m. 1st 1841 Henrietta Maria, dau. of the late Hon. Thomas Clifford; 2nd 1858 Mary, dau. of the late Walter Selby, Esq."

"MAC DONELL, Francis Edmund Joseph, Esq. (of Donforth, co. Kildare.)

Eldest surviving son of the late Sir Francis Mac Donnell,* of

* This gentleman, having held a commission in the Spanish service, was employed in the British commissariat, under Sir J. Moore and the Duke of Wellington in the peninsula. He ultimately returned to Ireland and purchased the Donforth property,

Donforth, by Bridget Mary, dau. of James O'Conner Esq., of Madrid, b. 1823 ; s. 1840 ; m. 1859 Ellen, only child of the late Henry McNamara, Esq., of Barbados. Educated at Clongowes Coll ; is a Magistrate for cos. Kildare and Meath. This family held large properties in cos. Mayo, Galway, and Roscommon, which they lost under the penal laws against Roman Catholics,—Donforth, near Enfield, Ireland ; Stephen's green Club, Dublin."

"**ACTON**, William Joseph, Esq., of (Wolverton).

Only son of the late William Acton, Esq., of Wolverton, by Anne Constantia, dau. of —— Davies, Esq. ; b. 1803 ; s. 1814 ; m. 1833 Mary, Widow of William Trafford, Esq. Educated at St. Mary's Coll., Oscott ; is a Magistrate for co. Worcester. This family is of Saxon origin, and has been seated in Worcestershire since the times anterior to the Norman Conquest.—Wolverton, near Pershore, Worcestershire."

"Heir, his son William Robert. b. 1835."

"**MACNAMARA**, Francis, Esq., (of Ennistymon).

Eldest surviving son of the late Francis MacNamara, Esq., of Ennistymon ; b. 1780 ; s. his brother the late Lieutenant-Colonel William Nugent MacNamara (who was M.P. for co. Clare 1830-52) 1856. Educated at Trinity Coll., Dublin ; is a Magistrate and Dep. Lieut. for co. Clare, and an Officer in the Clare Militia ; was M.P. for Ennis 1835-7. Represents a branch of the old Milesian house of MacNamara, long resident at Ballinacraig Castle, and descended from the old native Irish families of Thomond, Inchiquin, MacDonnell of Antrim, and O'Neill of Tyrone, as also from the ancient Admirals of Munster, from whose office is said to have originated their name, which means "Son of the Sea," —Ennistymon and Doolen Castle, near Ennis, co. Clare."

"**LAWSON**, Sir William, Bart. (cr. 1841).

Second son of the late John Wright, Esq., of Kelvedon Hall, Essex, by Elizabeth, dau. and co-heiress of Sir John Lawson, Bart., of Brough Hall, co. York ; b. 1796 ; s. 1834 ; m. 1825 Clarinda Catherine, dau. of J. Lawson, Esq., M.D. Educated at Stonyhurst ; is a Magistrate and Dep. Lieut. for North Riding of Yorkshire ; received the order of Christ from Pope Gregory XIV., 1844 ; assumed the name of Lawson in lieu of Wright, by Royal Licence in 1834. This family was formerly of Cramlington, Northumberland. Ralph Lawson, temp. Elizabeth, married the

and took a leading part with O'Connell in the agitation for Catholic emancipation. His death in 1840 set aside the intention of the Government to create him a baronet, which had been notified to him.

heiress de Burgh, of Burg, alias Brough.—Brough Hall near Catterick, Yorkshire."

"Heir, his son John b. 1829 ; m. 1856 Mary Ann, eldest dau. of F. S. Gerard, Esq., of Aspull House, Lancashire."

We wish that Mr. E. Walford had followed Mr. Shirley's example, and had appended to his account of the families whom he records their armorial bearings; for heraldry, though out of fashion as a science, is really after all, and to rate it at the very lowest, a great aid to the study of genealogy. This is not the place for, nor indeed have we the inclination for an essay on the "nobil and gentil scyaunce;" but there can be no doubt that, as Mr. Walford observes in his preface, "it is the bearing of arms, not of titles, that forms the real test of nobility;" though the lax and mistaken usage of English writers appears to have indoctrinated the nation with the belief that the members of the peerage and their wives, sons, and daughters alone form "the nobility."

If we remember rightly, the late Sir J. Lawrence, Knight of Malta, some twenty or thirty years ago, published a work which he entitled the "Nobility of English Gentry," in which he urges this point most strongly, but the work has long been out of print. In a recent number of *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, however, we find some remarks which are so appropriate to the subject that, by leave of our reader, we will transfer them to our pages by way of a conclusion to this article.

"Court armour, borne by right of descent or legal grant, constitutes nobility in the European acceptation of the term, though English custom limits the distinction of nobility to the Peerage and their descendants. No foreigner comprehends all this finessing. If you are a patrician, he says, 'you should bear a coronet, or be a Count or Baron, or at least a Chevalier; if not, you have no business with arms at all.' So he shrugs up his shoulders at Mr. Bull, and gives him up as a hopeless riddle. But John Bull is used to an isolated position in other than a geographical sense. On account of sea and religion, of language and customs, he has long been sent to Coventry by the other members of the European family, and he takes the deprivation most lightly and easily. He is rich and likes to have his own way: nor, in spite of all the ridicule and abuse that have been poured on it,—in spite of keen democratic wit and down-right abuse—does Mr. Bull choose utterly to renounce the old heraldic toys that his fathers cherished so sincerely and tenderly. He uses them, he sneers at them, he scarcely knows whether he has at his heart more contempt or more affection for them; but he will

not give them up. Writers may flout them, orators may denounce them, philosophers may pick holes in them ; but still John likes to retain them on his glowing carriage door, his neatly engraved spoons, his elegant hall chairs, his snug hatchment, his gold signet, and his embossed envelopes."

If the taste of John Bull for "the old heraldic toys" be so widely spread and so deeply engraved in his disposition as is suggested by the writer whose words we have just quoted, cannot Mr. Walford endeavour to gratify that taste in future editions of his "*County Families*"?

ART. VI.—1. *Correspondence Relative to the Affairs of Hungary, 1847-8.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 15th August, 1850.

2. *Hungary and Transylvania.* By John Paget, Esq. London : Murray, 1850. 2 vols. 8vo.

3. *The War in Hungary, 1848-9.* By Max Schlesinger. Translated by John Edward Taylor. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by Francis Pulzsky. London : Bentley, 1850. 2 vols.

4. *Hungary: its Constitution and its Catastrophe.* By Corvinus. London : Murray, 1850, 8vo.

5. *The North American Review,* for January, 1850, and January, 1851.

AUSTRIA and Hungary form a topic upon which we have not yet addressed our readers ; yet, in the whole range of European politics, there is not one of keener interest or more practical importance. The associations connected with their past history, the peculiarities of character in their soil and peoples, their local position, their agricultural and mineral products, their present capabilities and future prospects, and the degree of influence which their destiny may have upon the course of events in Europe, combine to concentrate the recollections, the thoughts, and the hopes of many upon this portion of the continent. Yet little is known or understood about it, and that little but inaccurately. It is not in the beaten track of either reading or travel. The information and

sentiments of most on this subject are derived from the newspapers of the day, and they, on such a subject, form a very questionable source of information, because they usually aim at, and write to accomplish a preconceived purpose, and their accounts are coloured and bent from the simple directness of narrative by the necessity of being accommodated to the previous design. Most English newspapers write in the interest of a particular party, and their accounts, especially of matters distant and unknown, are, perhaps unconsciously, adapted to suit the wishes of their party, whilst the *Times*, through the medium of which, perhaps, more than of any other paper, accounts reach us respecting Austria and Hungary, from its foreign correspondents, is a huge but mere commercial undertaking, designed and conducted to supply such articles of merchandize as will best suit and find the most ready sale in the public market, such opinions as the majority of the public happen at the moment to be most eager for, facts of such a colour, and sentiments of such a tone as will most largely be swallowed. In fine, the object is to "make things pleasant" to the public taste, and suit the supply to the demand—hence the gross inconsistency to be seen at different times in the columns of the *Times*—hence the brag and the bounce of popular championship which it often assumes, the vehement rush and swoop down upon every gainsayer of whatever is the popular fancy at the moment, the parade of fair play in its columns along with the denial of publicity or of any thing like fair play to any one who attempts to make a stand for what he believes to be the truth, against the temporary torrent of prejudice; its occasional bold attack upon a great man pleases the public who are gratified with the apparent display of independence; but a persistent support of any unpopular truth, a persevering warfare against any popular delusion, cannot be found in the columns of the *Times*, is contrary to the principle of its existence and its success, which is to supply the greatest possible quantity of whatever people are most willing to buy.

Through publications which are designed for either the purposes of a party, or only the profits of a trade, it is not likely that full and accurate information can be obtained, without resorting to and comparing many different accounts, and culling what may seem least suspicious

from each. It is not therefore so easy as might be at first supposed to obtain a correct appreciation of the affairs of Austria and Hungary.

We may be supposed by some to have prejudices in favour of the great Catholic empire of Austria ; but in this aspect the Hungarian claims upon our sympathy are quite as strong, the great majority both of the aggregate inhabitants of Hungary, and of every distinct race at present opposed to Austria, being Catholic, whilst two important races which side with Austria against the Magyars, viz., the Saxons of Transylvania, and the Wallachians are, the former Protestants, and the latter of the Greek Church. And the Catholics are not only numerically but prominently engaged in the Hungarian national cause. In the *Times* of 28th January, 1860, the Paris correspondent quotes from a letter he had received from Pesth, dated 21st January.

"The high Catholic clergy (in Hungary) lose no opportunity of showing how heartily they sympathise with the national movement in which their countrymen are engaged. The Bishop of Erlau, Monsignor Bartakoris, has, for example, just sent the magnificent sum of £1000. English to the fund to build a palace for the National Academy at Pesth, and his chapter has given a like sum. Nothing causes more anxiety to the Austrian Government than to see that the Roman Catholic clergy are every whit as national, and are as earnestly bent on regaining the national treaties as the rest of their countrymen."

And Kossuth, in January 1860, wrote to the Committee of the citizens of Glasgow, after reference to various other classes in Hungary :

"It has but one party—the body of patriots : but if there was a class to whom he would bow with admiring veneration, it is the Roman Catholic clergy of Hungary, from the priest to the mitred prince ; for they support the national cause, and, jealous of their own liberty of conscience, defend that of their Protestant brethren. They are priests in the church, but they are citizens without—patriots everywhere."

Catholics therefore and Catholic clergy are ranged on both sides in this political contest ; the majority indeed, and the leaders on both sides are Catholic, for Paget says, "the Hungarian magnates are almost entirely Catholics," and it may therefore be fairly conceded to us that, whilst we feel a peculiar interest in appreciating the grounds and progress of the dispute, and a peculiar wish that it may be

concluded with honour to both and without injury to either, there is no just reason to suspect us of partiality, and our opinion may be received as that of an observer, not indifferent, only because his interest in both is equal. We have approached the consideration of the facts with no prepossessions except in favour of a constitutional government, by which we understand one in which the rights of the sovereign, of the aristocracy, and of the people in all their classes and orders are defined and assured by known laws, in preference to a despotism in which the will and pleasure of the sovereign has the force of law, and is, in fact, of itself, the supreme law. We confess also, in the interest of Europe generally, and of Great Britain in particular, a strong desire to see in that part of Germany which is most wealthy both in agricultural and mineral produce a strong government, strong we mean with reference to its neighbours, east and west, and a free, prosperous and contented people. The former cannot exist without the latter. And we therefore who wish to see the people of central Europe enjoying and recognizing a good government, improving with intelligent industry their peculiar local advantages, and whilst thus occupied with internal progress, so satisfied with their condition, and so firmly and unitedly prepared to maintain it as to be free from all risk of external attack—presenting an impregnable barrier alike to France and to Russia—must also wish all divisions between the different races of the Austrian Empire healed, and all these races cordially united as one people. That we are interested in the attainment of such a result is universally admitted. Let us consider whether it is practicable, and how? Will Austria, Hungary, and we may add, Venetia, continue united in one strong empire? The question has, at this moment, a peculiar interest. That such a result is *desirable* all admit, whilst our own recent experience teaches us that it is *probable*. Ireland was in the position both of Hungary and Venetia. She asserted like both of them a distinct nationality. Like Hungary, she claimed the repeal of the Union and the restoration of her domestic legislature. Like Venetia she complained of wrongs, greater probably than any of which Venetia can complain, and was taunted with being not only alien in tongue and in race, but unlike Venetia, alien also in religion. Neither Hungary nor Venetia ever had so great a grievance to allege against Austria as the establishment of

the religion of the minority amongst the majority of the people, which monster grievance of Ireland still oppresses our country. If either Hungary or Venetia had such a grievance as this to complain of, we admit that union or prosperity might appear hopeless. Why then, with less grounds for disunion than existed between England and Ireland, may not Austria, Hungary, and Venetia become as united and as prosperous as England and Ireland are now? Will any one, after a fair examination of the state of things fifty, forty, or even thirty years ago, say that the probabilities of such a happy result to England and Ireland were then greater than, or even so great as they now are, to Austria, Hungary, and Venetia? It is suggested that Austria yields only to fear and is not to be trusted. Whether true or not, was not the same thing said of England in respect to Ireland? And was it not true? From the first relaxation of the penal laws down to the Act of Emancipation did England ever yield anything to Ireland except from fear and the pressure of necessity? And was not this even avowed? Did not Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington urge the fear of civil war, rather than the love of justice, as the motive for passing the final Act of Emancipation? And, had it not been for this fear, would there have been a majority in its favour? Much as we appreciate and feel grateful for the exertions of many who were sincere friends, we are old enough to know well that the measure would not have been passed had it not been for that very fear which the same men who were then influenced by it, are now alleging against and throwing in the teeth of Austria. They know, we presume, how they felt themselves, and they attribute the same feeling to Austria. And what reason had Ireland to put trust in England more than Hungary and Venetia now have to put trust in Austria? To go no further than a single instance. Was not the legislative union between England and Ireland carried by means of a pledge by Pitt, which was afterwards broken by the King? Whatever, therefore may be the reasons for attributing motives of fear to Austria and distrusting her liberality, Ireland had, but a very few years ago, at least equal reason, we believe far stronger reason, for attributing such motives to England and distrusting her liberal measures. England was, a very few years ago, in a worse position with respect to Ireland, than Austria now is with respect to either Hungary or Venetia. Eng-

land had wronged Ireland more than Austria has wronged either Hungary or Venetia. England grudgingly, dilatorily, and from motives of fear only, proffered every concession to Ireland, and was justly distrusted. Yet we see the result! Why may not the same result be consummated in Austria, Hungary, and Venetia? The obvious interests of all parties have necessarily led to various measures of improvement. Are not the interests of all the best guarantee that the Austrian constitution will be maintained with good faith and be followed up by corresponding measures to complete the union and promote the prosperity of the whole Austrian Empire?

An article in the *Times* of 21st August, furnishes a singularly apt illustration of the parallel view we have suggested; for surely the following remarks indicate that the prospect of any cordial union between England and Ireland was, or appeared, within the memory of those not yet old, as hopeless as can now appear the prospect of any cordial union between Austria, Hungary, and Venetia. The *Times* of 20th August, in reference to the Queen's visit to Ireland, thus writes:

"It is now forty years since George IV. visited Ireland on a similar errand. Little more than twenty years before, the island had been convulsed by a *sanguinary rebellion*, which had inflamed the minds of both parties to the highest pitch of desperation. The rebellion was crushed, but the fire still smouldered under the deceitful ashes. Men were still engaged in the pursuits of active life who had taken part in scenes which the world shudders to remember, and history would willingly omit to record. George IV. went to Ireland, not as the King of a whole people, but as the representative of a small and dominant minority—the representative of the policy of persecution and restriction, under which Ireland had groaned for one hundred and thirty years, and was still to groan for several years more. George IV. went to Ireland in her evil days, and evil were the days that were to succeed the Royal visit. The most dreadful outrages, fire raising, murders and little civil wars occasioned by the collision of permanent political and religious organizations, which swallowed up all other distinctions, and divided society into hostile camps; the boon of emancipation, granted without kindness and sympathy, and received without gratitude; the successive agitations of O'Connell, and the final break down of the old state of things in Ireland through the agency of famine and the pestilence which never fails to wait upon it; all these things were lowering in the future when George IV. set his foot on the pier, &c."—"the past was sad, the present gloomy, and the future menacing."

Can anything worse, or even so bad, be said of the relations existing now between Austria and Hungary, or even between Austria and Venetia? Why then, may not the following language of the Times to-day be equally applicable to Austria, Hungary, and Venetia, in we trust, less than forty years hence? Thus the Times contrasts the present with the past:

"Forty years have passed—everything is changed. Then the principal grievances of Ireland were religious and political, and the cry was separation from England! the dreams of repeal, the delusion of a separate government and nationality are exploded. Any one who carefully examined the state of Ireland at the coming of George IV. must have seen nothing before him but discord and disaster; any one who makes the same examination now, sees nothing before him but increasing union and prosperity."

Why may not "the dreams of repeal, the delusion of a separate government and nationality" be equally "exploded" in Hungary and Venetia, and they and Austria also become, in spite of present untoward appearances, like England and Ireland in spite of appearances which were still more untoward, happier because they are more united? England and Ireland never can be *perfectly united*, i.e. contented and satisfied, until the removal of the great grievance of Ireland, a Protestant Church established amongst a people, seven-ninths of whom are Catholics; if Englishmen doubt this, let them ask themselves whether they would be content and satisfied if, at the present day, the Catholic Church were the Church by law established amongst the Protestant people of England. If not, let them only concede to Irishmen the same feelings which they, in similar circumstances, would experience themselves. And if the very idea of a Catholic Church established amongst a Protestant people, be to them grievous and intolerable, let them be conscious that the fact of a Protestant Church established amongst a Catholic people must be equally grievous and intolerable to us. But though it is not in human nature that a perfect union can exist between England and Ireland until this grievance be removed, and until that which has been announced in the Austrian constitution, viz., equality of all religious professions be also accorded in this country, why, we repeat, may not as complete a union and as much prosperity be attained in Austria, Hungary, and Venetia, as now prevail in England and Ireland?

Why, indeed, may not the union there become more complete, since the one cause of disunion which remains here does not exist there? We trust that such a happy result may not, with them, be owing to the intermediate agency of "famine and pestilence;" and, remembering how recently England was in such a crisis herself, it does appear to us that it would be only appropriate for *her* to look hopefully and encouragingly upon the efforts of Austria to give one government, one parliament, one constitution, one law, to all the peoples and races of her empire.

That such a result is *desirable*, we repeat all admit. The Times expressly says, "What Francis Joseph wished to do was exactly what ought to be done, and his method of doing it was precisely the method which we might have taken ourselves. He desired to bring all the provinces of his empire under one effective administration; and with this end, he proclaimed a new constitution and established a representative in the place of an absolute government. He created an Imperial parliament, on which he conferred liberal privileges and genuine power, and to this parliament he summoned deputies from all parts of the empire, so that every province might make its wishes known, and be governed according to the conclusions of the assembly. In this measure, careful heed was given to the claims and even prejudices of nationalities. The system of centralization was openly repudiated for that of local government, with the provision only that there should be a single High Court of Parliament for the whole empire. The provinces might have separate administrations in most respects, but not separate parliaments. There the Sovereign, for the good of the empire, put in his claim. The unity of the State required that there should be thus far unity of government, and the populations, therefore, of the several provinces were for these purposes to form one people. Now, it is impossible that we in this country, can deny the cogency or the reason of the arguments thus propounded. The principles at least recognised by the Imperial Government were exactly those on which we have acted ourselves with perfect success. We, too, who are opposed to centralization and are resolute sticklers for self-government, have discerned the *necessity of an Imperial parliament*, and into that assembly the representatives of Scotland and of Ireland have been successively received by formal acts of union. When, therefore, the Hungarians turn round upon

their Sovereign and say that, though they acknowledge his title and are willing to live in unity with all the people of his empire, they must still insist upon having a parliament of their own, their demands seem as unwise in themselves as prejudicial to the true interests of the Imperial State. We have learnt by actual experience not only that this amount of centralization is indispensable to the strength of the nation, but that the misgivings which it might suggest are groundless. Our own parliamentary history shows conspicuously enough how ample a proportion of power the smaller States retain, and how absolutely unqualified by any kind of loss is the gain which Scotland and Ireland have reaped from union with England. Accordingly, when the Emperor of Austria declares that all nationalities shall be duly respected, but that the consolidation and strength of the empire *imperatively demand the union of all representatives in a single parliament, the justice of the requisition appears evident*, and we feel more than half disposed to blame the contumacy of Hungary in refusing so reasonable a summons."

Thus far the Times; and whenever the Times makes admissions against the popular inclination in England we may regard them as too clear and certain to admit of question. What, then, are the obstacles and difficulties which impede the accomplishment of so desirable and fair and sound a constitution? The Times states them also:—

1st. "Hungary, from its territories and resources, might reasonably claim to be the nucleus of the Imperial State—the central mass, to which the rest should gravitate.

2nd. "The new Constitution is the result of fear and polity; the Hungarians do not trust Austria, and that is the secret of the whole quarrel. Francis Joseph is liberal and constitutional to-day, but he was not so a short time ago, and he may not be so a short time hence.

3rd. "Before our unions were effected at home, the consent of the Scottish and Irish parliaments were asked and obtained. The acts were accomplished by negotiation and agreement. The Emperor has not proceeded by any such way of consultation and appeal. He has simply summoned the Hungarians to send deputies to his new parliament assembled at Vienna. Unless the Emperor pretends that the events of 1848-9, made a *tabula rasa* of the Hungarian institutions, he cannot deny that the Magyars possess already and without any thanks to him, a constitution of their own."

Would all these narrow and technical objections, even were they well grounded, amount together to a sufficient reason for rejecting a constitution admitted to be so good? But are they well grounded?

The first as to the comparative gravity of Hungary is answered by the Times itself, which, on 6th March, said, "The 343 seats in the Lower House, are distributed among the several nations, *nearly in the proportion of their population;*" whilst on 4th September it writes, "Hungary's quota in the Reichsrath would be equivalent to a proportion of 160 members in our own House of Commons;" which proportion seems to settle the claim of Hungary to be the Sun of the Austrian system.

The second objection is precisely what, with even greater reason, Ireland always urged against England; and yet, as we have seen, the Times is loud in its paens of congratulation on the prosperous results of their union. If the Austrian Constitution be what the Times describes it, fair and just and equally beneficial to all, will not the common interest of all be the best security for its faithful fulfilment?

But thirdly, however good the Constitution, however necessary for the Austrian empire that its various races should be *united* with *one* parliament and *one* effective administration, it was not proposed in a strictly legal manner. Assume for a moment this to be so, does it lie in the mouth of England to back such an objection? Is the English Constitution remarkable for the strictly legal manner in which it was accomplished? Hallam writes, "It was only by recurring to a kind of paramount, and what I may call hyper-constitutional law, a mixture of force and regard to the public good, which is the best sanction of what is done in revolutions, that the vote" (which transferred the crown from James to William) "could be defended." Could anything be worse or more illegal, or more unconstitutional than the means by which the legislative union with Ireland was carried? But, to come to the current opinions of the day, will the Times and its readers be consistent enough to judge the Emperor of Austria by the same rule which they apply to the King of Piedmont? Has everything been done legally by the latter, and yet have not his acts been approved by those who considered them useful? What says the Times, on 1st Jan., in reference to Piedmont? "The laws of nations and even the

first principles of morality have been violated for an object which all have hastened to recognize." They who thus regard the acts of Piedmont may surely look with leniency on an alleged irregularity of procedure in the Emperor of Austria. Again, the *Times* on 2nd March, writes, "There can be no doubt that Cavour, to *compass* the independence and *unification of the country* has thrown aside the traditions of dynastic courtesy and the maxims of international law, and has shown little regard even to the stipulations of treaties." They who have approved of the conduct of Cavour cannot consistently find fault with *the mode* in which the Emperor of Austria has sought to accomplish *the unification of his country*. The *Times*, of 6th March, after referring to the conduct of the Piedmontese, asks,

"Does any one suppose that Italy, one, united, organized, represented, will be turned back from the pursuit of the glorious destiny which is opening to her, by any criticisms, however pointed, on the means by which these results have been obtained? France also acquired unity by her great revolution, but how different was the price, in misery and crime, from that which has been exacted from Italy! Unity was the one great achievement of the French Revolution—the one thing which has survived where all else has perished. If France thinks she did not buy that unity too dearly, may not Italy well afford to be of the same opinion?"

And may not the same question be put with regard to Austria? If Austria shall, by means of this constitution, assuming it to be a stretch of power, secure the great object of *national unity*, at how small a comparative cost will it have been purchased by her?

And, still continuing the assumption that the Emperor of Austria has exceeded the strict limits of authority in framing the constitution, there is to be found in Hungarian history an illustrious precedent. Paget, in the 1st vol., p. 295, of his *Hungary and Transylvania*, says,

"In the Diet of 1761, the third and last held under Maria Theresa, the grievances of the peasants were most strongly urged on the attention of the nobles, but no ameliorations were obtained; occupied with their own affairs, those of the weaker classes were delayed to some future period. The next year the natural consequences of agitation of such a question without any steps being made towards its solution, were manifested in a rising of the discontented peasantry in several parts of the country, and in the commission of the usual outrages before the forces of the government could allay the ferment. Taking advantage of the alarm

which these excesses had impressed on the public mind, the great Queen determined by an act of arbitrary power, herself to apply the remedy to so crying an evil; an act which, if it cannot be defended as strictly constitutional, will never want apologists among the friends of humanity. The result of this determination was the celebrated Webarium, the Magna Charta of the Hungarian peasantry."

We do not, however, agree with the Times and many of its readers, that the end justifies the means. We prefer the sentiment of Cicero, "Non modo falsum esse istud, sine injuriâ non posse, sed hoc verissimum, sine summa justitiâ rempublicam regi non posse." The Times which, on 29th July, said "the independence which Hungary demands would practically sever the kingdom from the Austrian monarchy," and they who approve of the mode in which the English constitution was attained, of the mode in which the union with Ireland was carried, and of the recent acts of Piedmont, cannot consistently complain of any illegality in the mode of promulgating a constitution by which the severance of Hungary from Austria may be avoided, and the whole of the Austrian Empire be consolidated and united—the end in their judgment justifies the means.

In this principle, however, we cannot concur; and we therefore proceed to enquire whether the new Austrian constitution need any such apology, whether, in fact, it be in its inception legal or not. In doing this it will be requisite to refer generally to the nature of the previous Hungarian constitution, and to the events of 1848-9, and to consider whether they, according to the recognized law of nations, justify and legalize or not the constitution lately promulgated by the Emperor of Austria.

The position maintained by the Austrian Emperor in his recent message to the Parliament at Vienna we prefer to state in the language of the Times rather than our own.

"In this document," writes the Times on 26th August, "Francis Joseph directly affirms that 'the ancient Hungarian constitution was abolished by a revolutionary power,' and that all the Acts and Charters to which Hungary appeals were annihilated by an act of its own in defiance of those compacts—namely, the dethronement to which, in Diet at Debreczin, it doomed the dynasty of Hapsburg-Lorraine. The famous Act called the Pragmatic Sanction, while it enshrined in irrevocable words the rights of Hungary, did also establish as inalienably the rights of the reigning family to the succession for all time. When, therefore, the revolutionists de-

clared those rights forfeit, they forfeited their own also. The Act was in the nature of a compact. One half of its conditions could not be abolished without the abolition of the other half. The Pragmatic Sanction came to an end by the hands of the Hungarians themselves, and cannot now be pleaded, as M. Deak would plead it, in proof of the national privileges. That is the position taken up by the Emperor in his message to the Parliament in Vienna. The Hungarians have no rights or privileges whatever. They lost them all by a national crime, and the propositions recently made to the Diet, instead of conveying an offer of terms to a free parliament, represented, in reality, only so many 'concessions' made by an indulgent sovereign. Whatever institutions the Hungarians appear to possess they owe to the clemency of the Emperor who has so far, on his mere motion, 'reestablished' their constitution. The 'demands' they put forward are not only inconsistent with the common interests of the whole monarchy, but are utterly unjustifiable, as proceeding from a nation whose liberties are forfeited, and whose rights have been annulled."

And on this the *Times* remarks, "that certainly is a very clear argument. This plea does, indeed, dispose of all M. Deak's manifesto, with its elaborate reasonings and its accumulated vouchers. On this ground, if it be but tenable, the Emperor can undoubtedly support his case. But," says the *Times*, "we deny both the validity and expediency of such an assumption." With the question of expediency we are not at present concerned, and will confine ourselves therefore to that of validity. What has the *Times* to say on this point? The following is its argument in reply.

"Certainly the Hungarians were conquered twelve years ago, though not by Austrians, and it is natural, perhaps, that the Emperor should make the most of the fact as a political deluge. But surely, on this view of the case, a great deal too much recognition has been given to Hungarian pretensions. If the Magyars are a conquered people, with no more rights remaining than such as the Emperor might occasionally concede, we cannot understand the manner in which the Diet has been addressed, or the terms on which the negotiations between Austria and Hungary have hitherto been conducted. It seems rather late in the day to take such very high ground, and somewhat inconsistent to claim a right to command after so many months have been devoted to negotiation."

And this is the whole of the argument of the *Times* on the question of validity, for in the next sentence it proceeds to that of expediency.

There is in argument a kind of thimblerig practice

which sometimes deceives the unwary, and it consists in adroitly slipping in one expression instead of another, and then replying upon the substituted phrase as if it expressed the original meaning.

The original statement was that "the acts and charters of Hungary were annihilated *by an act of its own* in defiance of those compacts—namely the dethronement to which in Diet at Debreczin, it doomed the dynasty of Hapsburgh Lorraine." The reply substitutes for this the remark, "Certainly the Hungarians *were conquered* twelve years ago, though not by Austrians, and it is natural perhaps, that the Emperor should make the most of the fact as a political deluge." The statement attributes the annihilation to "the act of the Hungarians themselves," whilst in the reply the word "conquest" is slipped in instead, and the question is then dealt with as if the annihilation had been attributed, not to the act of the Hungarians themselves, but to the act of another namely *conquest*. There is not in the statement a word of reference to conquest; however natural it may have been for the Emperor to make the most of that fact, he does not in fact make anything of it, or refer to it at all, but he *does* refer to the fact that the Hungarian Diet, by their Declaration of Independence on the 14th April, 1849, at Debreczin, "solemnly proclaim that the House of Lorraine-Hapsburgh has forfeited its right to the throne of the United States of Hungary and Transylvania, and is hereby deprived of the style and title belonging to the House of Hungary and declared to be deposed, degraded and banished for ever from the Hungary territory." This is the language of the Magyars themselves. Waiving for a moment all question of the right or wrong of the matter, does not this make of the previous institutions of Hungary something like a *tabula rasa*? Surely the forfeiture must have been *mutual!* With what face, after this, can the Hungarians, or they who argue for them, refer to their ancient rights as any legal obstacle to the new constitution?

Hungary thus *by its own act* annihilated its right to appeal to previous acts and charters. This is the position taken by the Emperor in his message to the Reichsrath, as stated by the Times itself, and to *this* the Times gives no reply whatever; but instead thimbleriggs the idea of *conquest* into the sentence and deals with *that*. The

Hungarian Diet after being for some time engaged in civil war against their Sovereign, passed a solemn resolution deposing him, and declaring] themselves independent. Vattel expressly says, p. 425.

"A civil war breaks the bonds of society and government, or at least suspends their force and effect. It produces in the nation two independent parties who consider each other as enemies, and acknowledge no common judge. These two parties therefore must necessarily be considered as thenceforward constituting (at least for a time) two separate bodies, two distinct societies. They stand in precisely the same predicament as two nations who engage in a contest, and being unable to come to an agreement, have recourse to arms."

It is indeed idle for the Diet to refer to old acts and charters and compacts, all of which they have torn asunder by their own solemn resolution. The Emperor does not declare them forfeited by the right of conquest, he merely reminds the Hungarians that they have themselves cancelled their claim to any such privileges. They have elected, in lieu of them, to appeal to arms, and they cannot therefore now, at their own mere will and pleasure, revert back again to the status quo ante bellum. The Hungarians having by their own act disentitled themselves to any old or peculiar privileges, all they can now claim is what every other human being is entitled to claim, good government, and this we have already seen the Times admits the new Austrian Constitution is calculated to confer upon them and upon all the subjects of the empire alike.

As to alleged inconsistency in thus addressing the Hungarians "after so many months have been devoted to negotiation," that is a practice of every day's occurrence. Sensible men both in public and private life, even when they have the right to command, often prefer to negotiate and obtain voluntary assent to what is right and proper; but if negotiation become futile through obstinacy, then they necessarily fall back upon their original rights. This is a course of proceeding which every man of good sense must be conscious that he frequently follows; he tries to persuade men into the voluntary adoption of what he proposes, even where he might at first have spoken with the authority to which he is sometimes obliged to resort at last.

It is not however necessary to resort to the idea of forfeiture of ancient rights, as suggested by the Times,

in order to legalize the new Constitution; another aspect of the question is open to us. The Magyars take their stand upon their old constitution, and claim the arrangement of 1848 as if the one was consistent with and confirmatory of the other. This is not so. The arrangement of 1848 forced by them in a revolutionary period upon a weak Sovereign introducing two independent and possibly conflicting governments under one Sovereign, was an innovation upon rather than a confirmation of the ancient practice, and as it therefore had not even antiquity to recommend it, and obviously weakened and must eventually have led to the dismemberment of the state, the spirit of the ancient Constitution as well as the welfare of the whole people alike required that so much of that compulsory and unjustifiable arrangement of 1848 as introduced duality and probably therefore opposition of movement in the state machine should be omitted, whilst the other useful portions of that arrangement were preserved, confirmed and made simply practicable by national legislation being conducted by one parliament, and local matters left under the control of local authorities. And this is precisely what has been done, well done and done in such a way as to last if all parties will be satisfied with free and equal rights, which now only need the guarantee of universal assent to perpetuate them.

And here we might close our remarks, satisfied to have shown from the mouth of a most unwilling witness that the Austrian Constitution is just what it ought to be, and, as we presume to think by our further remarks, that it is not only good but legal in its inception. We think, however, that some additional explanation of events and of the question now at issue may not be unacceptable to our readers. Paget's *Hungary and Transylvania* gives an interesting account of his travels through those countries, though written with a strong bias in favour of the Magyars as a race, and against Catholicism as a religion; but to those who have the requisite leisure we would especially recommend the perusal of the Blue Book entitled "Correspondence relative to the affairs of Hungary, 1847-9," placed at the head of this article which consists principally, if not entirely, of letters from the British minister and consuls in Austria and Hungary, and comprises copies of most, if not all the official documents then published in that empire. A careful perusal of these dispatches and documents would

tend to remove many erroneous impressions, and give a more correct view of what is now but little understood. Many of our readers will be glad to learn that Paget found "the name of O'Connell, throughout all Hungary, a watchword among the Liberal Catholics, and many were the questions we were asked about his eloquence, talent, and appearance. He seems to be considered a living testimony that Catholicism and even ultra-Liberalism, are by no means inconsistent." We would venture to recommend those who would not confine their travels to the beaten track to go and see the natural beauties of Austria, Hungary, and Transylvania, and study for themselves the various races who inhabit them. Paget speaks in the strongest terms of the beauty of the scenery; and the following introductory sentences respecting Transylvania will probably surprise many whose affection for their own country, instead of being enlarged by their knowledge, is unfortunately bounded by their ignorance, of other countries. Paget exclaims—

"A strange little country is this Transylvania! Very likely the reader never heard its name before, and yet some hundred years ago it was in close alliance with England; long before religious liberty, annual parliaments, payment of members, and the election of magistrates were dreamed of amongst us, they were granted to Transylvania by a solemn Charter of the prince, the Emperor of Austria. Here is this country on the very limits of European civilization, yet possessing institutions and rights, for which the most civilized have not been thought sufficiently advanced."

But even Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany, published in 1838, says, p. 114:—

"It has been the fate of Austria hitherto to have been described almost exclusively by travellers who have taken a prejudiced and one-sided view of her government and institutions, and who have not even done justice to the beauties of the country, the flourishing conditions of her manufactures, the bravery and loyal spirit of her inhabitants and the happy condition of the majority of the inhabitants. In stigmatizing the government as the most tyrannical of despots, they have overlooked the fact, that the subjects living under it, especially the lower orders, are the most contented and joyous in Europe, because actually the best off in worldly matters, the least taxed or oppressed by fiscal burdens of any kind."

Indeed, whatever may have been the faults of Austrian government, its strong point has been care for the welfare

of the peasantry; and if any one will, as we recently did, take Alison's Europe and, glancing through the table of contents of the successive chapters, turn to those which describe the condition of the people of Austria, he will find Alison invariably describing them in terms corresponding with the words we have underlined. And Protestants will probably be surprised to learn that "There has always been great religious toleration in the whole Austrian Empire;" yet that is a sentence which we copy from the Turin Correspondent in the Times of 9th November 1855.

The Hungarians, for centuries, formed the Eastern barrier of Christian Europe, against which the invading armies of the Turks were broken. In 1526, however, they were defeated by the Turks at the battle of Mohacz, and lost their king. They offered the crown to Ferdinand the Emperor of Austria, and by the joint efforts of both Austria and Hungary, but not without the aid on one remarkable occasion of Poland, Europe was guarded from the further advance of the Mahomedan crescent.

Hungary, Transylvania, and Sclavonia, are inhabited by various races of people, who have not socially amalgamated like the populations of Western Europe, and who, however locally intermixed, never intermarry, but perpetuate themselves, their languages, dress, and customs, in distinct parallel lines, without any intermingling. This is a great misfortune, but it is a fact, the sharp edges of which assimilation of laws and mode of government with prudence and in time may gradually smoothen. That the various races should be consolidated into one people with one national feeling, into the composition of which each may contribute some of their best qualities, is of course peculiarly desirable. The Sclavaks of the hill country in the north and east, and the Croats and Sclavonians of the belt of country on the south-west between the rivers Drave and Save, though originally split asunder by the invading wedge of the Magyars from Tartary, and now lying wide apart, are originally of the same great Sclavonian race. Between them are the Magyars, originally a warlike horde from the far-east, who invaded the country and drove the original Sclavonic inhabitants before them to the hilly districts northward and southward, and settled themselves in the rich plains through which the great rivers Danube and Theiss flow, and which they still possess. The majority of both the Magyar and Sclavonic race are

Catholic. On the south-east lie the Wallachians, probably the descendants of the ancient Dacians; these are almost wholly of the Greek Church, and adjacent to them is a numerous colony of Saxons who are almost wholly Protestant. There are various other races, each less numerous than the above, but except the Magyars, the Saxons, or Germans, and the Jews, of whom there is a tolerable sprinkling, all the others are commonly understood to belong to the Sclavonic race. Paget, vol. i., p. 7, writes,

"The Magyars, or Hungarians proper, the dominant race, and to whom the land may be said to belong, do not amount to more than three-and-a-half millions out of the ten millions at which the population is estimated. The Sclavaks may be reckoned at two millions; other members of the Sclavish race, but differing in religion and dialect, at two-and-a-half millions; the rest of the population being made up of Wallacks, Jews, Germans, Gipsies, &c. There is scarcely less difference of religion than of origin in this motley population. The Catholics are predominant, as well in number as in power; but the two sects of Protestants, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, and the members of the Greek Church, both united and non-united, are numerous, and enjoy nearly the same rights as the Catholics. The Jews are tolerated on the payment of a tax, but cannot exercise any political functions."

The Magyars were the conquerors, the Sclaves the conquered, whilst the Saxons came in by an intermediate immigration with distinct and recognized rights, which, like a stout and prudent people as they are, they have ever taken good care to preserve.

We wish that space admitted of our copying the entire account given by Lord Brougham in his Political Philosophy of the Constitution of Hungary, but we can only abbreviate it. The invading Magyars divided the lands amongst their chiefs, reducing the former inhabitants to a state of slavery. The family of Arpad, their principal leader, held the chief authority till its extinction in 1301. All of the Magyar race were noble, and they alone were entitled to own land and to vote in elections; and they were also free from taxes which were paid only by those who did *not* vote. The word *populus* in Hungary, meaning the nobles, the clergy, and citizens of free towns, all the rest of the inhabitants are termed *plebs*, and frequently *plebs misera contribuens*—a singularly significant expression designating at once the state of the people, and

the privilege or exemption which the nobles chiefly prized.

The Diet is composed of two chambers. In the upper chamber sit the prelates and magnates. The prelates are thirty-six in number, of whom thirty-four are Catholics, and one a Greek Bishop. The magnates are those who are barons or counts either by office, by descent or by tenure of land. There are six hundred or seven hundred in all who have a title to sit in this chamber, but comparatively few attend, sometimes only thirty or forty. The Lower Chamber is composed of Deputies chosen by the 46 counties, i. e. by the inferior and numerous nobility, each county sending two, the 46 counties have therefore 92 deputies, but only 46 votes (the two deputies for each county having between them only one vote), Croatia has one, Sclavonia has three, the free towns one, the chapters one, making in all 54 votes. The deputies are, however, only delegates, not to deliberate and express their own opinions, but to follow the instructions and be the mouth-piece of their constituents, and if they fail to do this satisfactorily, they are immediately displaced. The free towns may be almost said to be unrepresented, since they have but one vote. Croatia and Sclavonia are not much better, and the whole power is evidently in the hands of the Magyars.

The Crown alone has the power of convoking the Diet, and the law directs it to be assembled once in every three years. So little however has this been attended to, that only two Diets were convened in the forty years' reign of Maria Theresa; and Joseph II. never called a Diet at all during his ten years' reign. The most extraordinary part of its constitution is the uncertainty which still prevails as to what part of the magnates the right to vote resides in; for the right of created nobles to vote with those by office and estate, is so much a matter of dispute, that the Palatine or President who has, since the time of Maria Theresa, always been an Archduke, and is chosen by the Diet from four candidates named by the Crown, has frequently been known to reject the determination of an absolute majority, and to declare a question carried or rejected by the majority of the undisputed votes.

No measure can be originated in the Chamber of Magnates. The two chambers formerly sat together; their separation, which occurred so late as 1562, is said to

have arisen from the accident of the hall being too small to contain both. When the chambers differ recourse is had to what is called a mixed sitting, in which both sit, discuss, and vote together.

The Diet's principal function is legislative, that is, by the theory of the constitution, for we have already seen how that has been broken through by the celebrated Urbarium of the Empress Queen. The levying of taxes is also in the hands of the Diet, as well as their distribution for collection among the different districts. But, in practice this important right seems confined to direct taxation, from which the nobles being exempt, the Diet, their representative, is sure to refuse all such supplies as cannot be raised upon the townsfolk and the peasantry; and hence the sovereign has introduced a large amount of indirect taxes, which of course fall on the nobles as well as on other classes of consumers. Thus, of the whole revenue, amounting to three millions and a half, no less than two millions are raised by a salt tax, and £150,000 by customs. The raising a salt tax without consent of the Diet has been always held illegal by the Hungarians, but the imperfect federal system has always made their complaints in vain, and this tax falling equally on the poor and the rich, effectually neutralizes the privilege so highly prized by the nobles, of being exempt from taxation.

The Magyars are also exempt from the local taxes called Cassa Domestica, raised by the votes of county meetings, which is wholly paid by the non-nobles, and wholly administered, as well as imposed, by the nobles alone.

The king has the exclusive appointment of all officers, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, and grants privileges of nobility at his pleasure.

The peasantry were originally astrincted to the soil, but in 1405 a law was made suffering them to quit with the lord's leave, which, however, was not to be arbitrarily withheld. The language of one of the old laws is remarkable: it gives protection to the peasantry, "ne omnis rusticitas deletur, sine quâ nobilitas parum valet." At the beginning of the 16th century, their rebellion under Dosa having been quelled, they were reduced again to complete servitude by a law which was repealed in 1547, and re-enacted the year after, and afterwards much modified in 1556. Then, in 1764 came the celebrated Urba-

rium of Maria Theresa, to which we have already alluded, which gave the peasant the power of leaving his lord provided his debts are paid, and there is no criminal charge against him, but his lord cannot remove him. A portion of land was allotted to him, his money payments were reduced to a mere trifle, and the service or labour called roboth, which he was bound to render to his master, was fixed at 104 days without his team, or 52 with it, by one or two days in the week, unless at harvest time, when it might be doubled. He was beside this to render a small amount in kind of poultry or vegetables, and to contribute, if the lord were to be ransomed in war, or to have a child married.

Mr. Blackwell, our Consul at Pesth, remarks, in 1847 :

" In conformity with these acts the Roboth may be commuted into a money rent, or even redeemed for perpetuity by mutual agreement of the parties concerned. However, notwithstanding these laws, the Hungarian peasants have much to complain of. It is on their property that county rates are exclusively levied, and that too in the most arbitrary manner imaginable; for the rates may be levied on the peasant's land, or his live stock, or any other kind of real property he possesses, as the county magistrates think proper. Thus, to cite one instance among a hundred—Eötvö-, in his recent admirable work entitled ' Reform in Hungary,' mentions that in a county in which the landed proprietors had begun to turn their attention to sheep breeding, the rates were mostly levied on the peasant's flocks, in order that the petty nobles might thus prevent plebeian competition, and have a trifling advantage in the sale of their wool. A peasant's holding, or session, as it is called, varies in extent according to the nature of the soil and local usage, but it is fixed by the Urbarial laws at a certain number of acres in each county, the minimum being about 25, the maximum 65 English acres. A peasant may hold a whole session, a half session, or a quarter session. For a whole session he has to work—to do Roboth—104 days in the year, or 52 days with a team, for the lord of the manor, besides making the roads, such as they are, and performing other Urbarial services for the county. The lord of the manor also takes one-ninth of the produce of the session in natura, and the Church one-tenth. The lord has likewise the privilege of being the butcher and vintner of the manor, one of the consequences of which is, that in an Hungarian village the traveller is sure to find the worst wine of the district."

Lord Brougham proceeds—

The power of inflicting corporal punishment was likewise reduced to the bestowing of 25 lashes. The griev-

ance, however, was still left of the lord's court having jurisdiction of disputes, not only between peasant and peasant, but also between the lord and peasant, the judge being named by the former. The new Urbarium of 1835, which, as Lord Brougham remarks, does the greatest credit to Prince Metternich, and which also was by imperial edict, provided that the jurisdiction of the lord's court should be confined to cases between peasant and peasant, and that all questions between lord and peasant, should be thenceforth tried by a new court, composed of the district magistrates and four disinterested persons. He abolished all right of inflicting corporal punishment, restricting the lord's court to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three days, in case the peasant failed to perform his services. Small tithes and extraordinary gifts were also abolished, and the peasant was not to be compelled to make long journeys with his team in order to do his appointed service for the lord.

It will be obvious from this brief explanation, and would have been even more clear, if we could have entered into more details, that the Hungarian Constitution was originally for the benefit of the Magyars or nobles only, and dealt with the unfortunate peasantry merely as beings subsidiary to the comfort of their masters, like so many head of cattle, and that every alleviation of this code has proceeded from the crown, and not from the nobles.

Croatia and Sclavonia were, as we have seen, nominally, not effectively, represented in the Hungarian Diet, but, as Paget informs us, "they sometimes hold what they call Diets of the kingdoms of Croatia and Sclavonia. What the exact use of these Diets is, or how far their functions extend, I was not able to make out—indeed I believe it is a disputed point, the Croatians wishing to consider themselves as confederates of Hungary, the Hungarians reckoning them as part and parcel of themselves. They sometimes, however, exercise the right of refusing to obey, or to adopt the acts of the General Diet when they interfere with their own peculiar privileges."

Transylvania, at a previous period, governed by a Woiwode appointed by the King of Hungary, in 1526 proclaimed herself an independent state, and so continued for a century and a half, paying tribute to Turkey, or seeking aid from Austria, as necessity arose, until the Emperor of Austria was elected Prince of Transylvania,

and its form of government was settled by the Diploma Leopoldinum, the purport of which we need not state further than that it established a separate Diet in correspondence with the government at Vienna.

The Hungarian Constitution for Hungary proper has never in practice corresponded with its original theory, Transylvania was never governed by it, and Croatia and Sclavonia asserted the right to be governed by it or not, as they pleased, deciding, we presume, in the negative, whenever they felt themselves to be very illused, and thought themselves strong enough, or the Magyars weak enough, to make resistance prudent.

Lord Brougham concludes his account of the Hungarian Constitution, which we have endeavoured to abbreviate, with the following commentary :

" Such is the Hungarian Constitution—'the ancient idol of the nation,' as one of their own authors has said ; and an idol to whose worship they have sacrificed their country, and made themselves three hundred years behind the rest of Europe in every branch of social improvement. This Constitution means, in the mouths of its votaries, the privileges of the nobles, the oppression of the people, the neglect of national prosperity, the sacrifice of real and solid advantages to a nominal glory and empty pride. It is by another of these authors charged as the cause why he deeply grieves to see his countrymen wretched, degenerated, and grovelling in the dust." —Political Philosophy, Part 2, p. 96.

The Magyars had most of the virtues and vices of a dominant race, and the Sclavonians most of the virtues and vices of a race subjected to compulsory labour, whilst a fertile and fine country remained in the state which would be the natural consequence of this condition of its inhabitants. The races, though in constant contact, despised and hated each other, never mingled, and the masters being the minority, and the servants the majority, the dissatisfaction of the latter not unfrequently broke out into open rebellion against the former, whilst the constant aim of the monarch was, as in such a state of things it naturally would be, to strengthen the social system by connecting the parts of it more closely together, and to improve the cultivation of the country by giving those who tilled it motives to industry ; we are not therefore surprized to find Paget saying, " the fixed idea of Maria Theresa was the union of all her heterogeneous possessions under the same institutions and the same form of govern-

ment." That "during the forty years she reigned the Diet was only called together twice," and that "during the whole reign of Joseph II. he never summoned a Diet, but went forward unrestrained by anything but his own conscience to work out what he believed to be the happiness of Hungary." The nobles or privileged class were indisposed to surrender to the public weal the privileges which they regarded as their peculiar distinctions, and the fact of the great power of the aristocracy made it more difficult for the crown to introduce improvements, and protracted therefore to a later period than in any country in Europe (except perhaps Russia) a state of society out of which other European nations have long emerged. Paget writes:

"When Count Szechenyi lately obtained from the Diet an act for building a new bridge at Pest, and a power to make every one, noble and ignoble, pay as he passed over it, he gained as great a victory over prejudice and injustice as has been accomplished by any statesman of our day. Some of the more enlightened Hungarians would gladly see this principle carried out to a much greater extent; and it is not improbable that the Government would second them: but among many of the nobles, especially the lowest and highest, there is so great an ignorance and so strong a prejudice—on the one hand against losing what they consider their rights and on the other against raising the peasantry to think and feel like men—that much must be done before this act of justice can be accomplished."

To all the other sources of disunion and dislike amongst these various races the attempt of the dominant Magyars to impose their peculiar language upon the others may not improbably have been the last drop in the cup full of bitterness, which made it overflow in open resistance. Latin was the language of the courts and the Diet, but lately the Magyars have endeavoured not only to compel the introduction of their own language into all public transactions, but to make the knowledge of it a necessary qualification for all public employment. This is a point upon which mankind always seem peculiarly sensitive; nothing so touches the feelings of the people at large as any interference with their ordinary language. This perhaps, more than any other single thing, occasioned the revolution in Belgium, and its severance from Holland, and this probably it was which roused up the Slavonians to assert with arms in their hands, the rights of man-

hood against the Magyars. Paget thus warned them only a very few years ago.

"The Croatian language is a dialect of the Sclavish, more resembling, however, that of Poland, than those of Bohemia, Russia, or even the Sclavack dialect of the North of Hungary. Till within the last few years it has been totally uncultivated, and its use confined exclusively to the peasantry. Since, however, the Hungarian Diet has proposed to enforce the use of the Magyar language instead of the Latin, in public transactions throughout all Hungary, a spirit of opposition has been excited amongst the Sclavish population which threatens very serious consequences. The first effect of the measure proposed by the Diet was the rousing up in Croatia, of a strong sentiment of nationality, which found vent in the establishment of a periodical, something like the Penny Magazine in form, in the Sclavish language. This is the *Danica Ilirska*, edited by Dr. Gay. It is published once a week, is very respectably got up, and contains national songs, original articles, and translations. They are now endeavouring to improve the language by introducing new words in use among the Illyrians, whose language was originally the same, but which is now more polished. The Illyrian language is soft and agreeable to the ear, and, no doubt, to them contains a thousand beauties which no other language can possess. There seems too to be some idea among the têtes exaltées here of an Illyrian nationality. It is no uncommon thing to hear them reckoning up the Croats, Sclavonians, Bosnians, Dalmatians, Servians, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, and then comparing this mass of Sclaves with the three or four millions of Magyars, and proudly asking why they should submit to deny their language and their origin because the Magyars command it. I am very far from wishing this party success, though I cannot help in some degree sympathizing with a people who resist when they think a stronger power is willing to abuse its strength by depriving the weaker of those objects—language and religion—which they hold as most dear. The act has passed however which declares that in ten years time no Croat shall be eligible to a public office who cannot read and write the Magyar language, and the consequence has been the creation of a feeling of hatred against the Magyars which bodes but very ill for the speedy Magyarizing of the Croatian people."

Paget's book was published in 1850, and this must therefore have been written shortly previous.

With such a feeling existing amongst the people we come to the events of 1848-9.

One of the mischiefs of the imperfect union of Austria and Hungary was the existence of import duties payable on the line of frontier between them, as, within our

memory, import duties were payable between England and Ireland. On this subject Paget vol. i. p. 558, thus writes :

"The population of Hungary is about one-third that of the entire Empire : of the revenue Hungary contributes little more than one-fourth. Now, though I feel certain that Hungary does not contribute a fair proportion, and certainly much less than she might do, there is no doubt the Hungarians are right in saying that the fault lies with Austria and not with them ; for under a more liberal commercial system, of which Hungary is deprived on the plea of protecting Austrian manufactures, the duties on importation and exportation alone would amount to more than the whole sum collected at present."

Assuming the blame to be here fairly and justly attributed, how does the Emperor of Austria attempt to heal the mischief ? And then mark how the Hungarians purposely keep the wound open in order that it may fester.

To the Diet assembled at Presburg on 11 November, 1847, the then Emperor addressed various recommendations which certainly appear calculated to promote the welfare of the country, one of the most important of them being "the abolition of the custom-house barriers between Hungary and the other Austrian states," on which Mr. Blackwell, the British consul at Presburg, thus writes, on 22nd December, 1847,

"The contemplated removal of the intermediate customs' line is a measure that will encounter the most violent opposition. The Liberal party regard this measure as one of the safeguards of Hungarian nationality. Hence, a question that is apparently a purely commercial one, assumes, like every other question in this country, a political tendency. The line forms a barrier, though a commercial one, between Hungary and Austria. This, irrespective of its commercial advantages or disadvantages, is quite sufficient for it to find favour with the Hungarian Liberals, who declare that, if it were possible, they would convert it into a wall of brass. In a commercial point of view, the removal of the intermediate line would unquestionably be advantageous to Russia."

Here we see what is termed the Liberal party either so ignorant as not to recognize what would obviously have promoted the general interests of their country, or so infatuated as to sacrifice those interests to the animosities of race or of party ! And we trust our readers will not be misled by the terms "Liberals" and "Conservatives," which Mr. Blackwell uses to designate the two parties in

Hungary, but judge of them not by their *names*, but by their real character and objects, which Mr. Blackwell in the same letter thus describes :

"The Conservatives wish to carry out the necessary reforms with the cooperation of the Government and under what they term 'its legitimate and constitutional influence.' The opposition have lost all confidence in the Government, and hence are too apt to regard even the most wholesome measures that are supported by the Government party, with undue suspicion. The two parties have totally different objects in view. The Conservatives wish to effect a moderate reform in the existing institutions, in a manner that would strengthen the ties that unite Hungary with Austria. The Liberals, although with professions of loyalty, attachment to the Imperial Dynasty, &c., wish to sever those ties and make Hungary an independent kingdom. The final object which they profess to have in view is what they term administrative independence; but it is obvious that if this object should ever be attained and Hungary have its responsible ministry, its national treasury, national army, &c., administrative independence would soon be converted into national independence, and the ancient crown of St. Stephen again encircle the brows of a Magyar sovereign."

This was the observation of a calm impartial English observer, on the spot, in December 1847, and it seems prophetic and to supply us with the key to all that follows. It is also obvious from these remarks of Mr. Blackwell that he considered the independence at which the latter party aimed as no part of the ancient Hungarian constitution but an innovation upon it.

The Emperor's address, from which we have quoted, seems to have been delivered in the Magyar language. The Diet, in their reply, state "they have heard it with pleasure, because this has been the first time for centuries that the Hungarian nation has had the happiness of hearing from the lips of its crowned sovereign the cherished tones of its native tongue." This native tongue being, it must be recollect, native only to about one-third of the inhabitants! The feelings of the majority of the inhabitants are sufficiently indicated by this sentence.

The following concluding sentence of the reply is remarkable.

"We are convinced that if the old constitutional rights and liberties of the Austrian hereditary states still existed, if these states, in conformity with the demands of the age, and the principles of equity and justice, could be ranked among the constitutional

nations of Europe—and the government of the entire monarchy in its general system as well as in every department of the administration, was grounded on constitutional principles and animated by a constitutional spirit, we are convinced, we say, that our interests could then be easily combined with those which are at present in conflict with and even inimical to them and that, by a greater unity of interests and a greater degree of confidence being thus established, every part of the empire would be invigorated by a common tie, and the United Monarchy, by a guaranteed being thus afforded for its material and intellectual development, be entitled to brave with impunity the storms and convulsions by which it might hereafter be assailed."

A practical test is now applied to the sincerity of these expressions. All the states of the empire *are* now put upon a constitutional basis, and the Magyars are still found objecting and holding back from that unity of interests here so much lauded. What now impedes that invigoration and development which it is here stated would ensue if only a certain state of things existed? Such a state of things *does* now exist and yet they are still objectors! Is it not obvious that, whether grievances exist or whether they be removed, they are still equally determined to be dissatisfied? That their complaints are not for the genuine object of improving and consolidating, but for that of dismembering the empire?

On the 15th Jan. 1848, was passed a bill decreeing that the Magyar language be exclusively used as the official language of every department of the state, civil and ecclesiastical, with certain temporary exceptions, that official documents drawn up in any other language be invalid, and that the Magyar language be exclusively used in all the schools, colleges, and universities of the kingdom. Mr. Blackwell remarks that "this bill gave rise in its progress through the House to very warm debates, that is to say, to the usual conflict between Magyarism and Slavism, that takes place on such occasions; the former of course domineering by an overwhelming majority."

The following fragment of the discussion on the bill, as reported by Mr. Blackwell, is a sufficient indication of the feelings which prevailed.

"Goldbrunner, delegate of the free town of Schemnitz, celebrated for its mines, tried in vain to show that an exception ought to be made in favour of the Schemnitz Mining Academy. This, he said, was one of the most celebrated institutions of the

kind ever established, and was annually frequented by students from every country in Europe, as well as from America. If they persisted in making Magyar the exclusive language for public instruction, it was evident that the Schemnitz Academy would soon be deserted, as it could not be expected that foreigners who came to Schemnitz to acquire a knowledge of mining, would take the trouble of learning an isolated Oriental language, which in their future career would not be of the least service to them. ‘If Hungarians,’ exclaimed one gentleman, ‘are obliged to learn a foreign language when they frequent a foreign academy, why should not foreigners be obliged to learn Hungarian when they frequent a Hungarian academy?’ ‘But, I defy you,’ rejoined Goldbrunner, ‘to find a professor capable of giving a lecture on mining and mineralogy in the Magyar language. You will first have to coin a number of technical words, which the language at present is totally devoid of.’ ‘They shall not be wanted,’ replied the Magyarists. ‘You ought also to take into consideration,’ said Goldbrunner, ‘the pecuniary advantage which the town derives from the residence of such a number of students.’ Let the town of Schemnitz perish, so that *Hungarian nationality be preserved*, was the only answer this German could get from the gentlemen he had to contend with.

It may seem tiresome to copy these details, but we cannot in any other way so effectually show the overbearing conduct of the Magyars, reckless of everything but their own supremacy, and the feeling which it must have produced in the minds of those over whom they thus domineered, and whom, as we shall see soon afterwards in armed resistance, or what the Magyars called “rebellion” against the Magyar rule. And miserable indeed must the majority of a people be who would submit to such treatment from the minority!

In this state of mind they entered upon 1848, the year of European revolutions. The Paris revolution was like a spark applied to trains of gunpowder, ramified into most European countries. In France Louis Philip abdicated, and Lamartine, the barricades, and Cavaignac gleamed in rapid succession across the scene—a Germanic Assembly inaugurated itself, chose an Austrian Archduke as its leader, and disappeared like a dissolving view—collisions between the troops and the people occurred both at Berlin and Vienna, and both the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria left their capitals—and the ideas of race and nationality, which were one ingredient in so many of these revolutions, seemed to have taken full possession of the population in some of the Austrian provinces. The

Magyars demanded an independent ministry, with the ultimate object, as Mr. Blackwell suggests, of arriving at an independent monarchy.

But the feeling of race, nationality, independence, or freedom, whichever it might be, extended beyond Hungary into Croatia, and the Croatians were at length roused into action against the Magyars. We now quote from Thompson's History of Austria, published in London in 1849, p. 391.

"Hungary had seized the opportunity afforded by the crisis to plunge into the arena, and to demand the recognition of the independence of the kingdom. The concession was at once accorded with its own King and Diet, with an independent administration, and with political institutions modelled according to the demands preferred ; but, as if instigated by terror or bewildered by the pressure of events, the Austrian Government conceded to that of Hungary the power to exercise over others the very prerogative against which they have themselves rebelled, namely, to bring the Slavonian provinces on their borders into the same relation with the Diet at Pesth which they had themselves so strenuously repudiated at the Court of Vienna. Dissentions and jealousies had for many years existed between the various races inhabiting Hungary ; but the Magyars, though the dominant and, physically considered, the superior race, were so numerically weak, as to furnish barely a fourth part of the total returns of the census, the remainder, except an inconsiderable number of Germans, and about a million of Wallachians, being made up entirely of Slavonians. Formerly, the use of the Latin tongue stood in the same stead to this motley population as it did in the old times to the literati of Europe, and enabled them to meet for common purposes on a neutral ground. But this compromise was terminated some time back by the overweening Magyars substituting their own national language for the conventional Latin ; and this example and foretaste of their oppressive ambition was naturally ill received. At the late crisis however, the Diet availed themselves of a situation in which the Court of Vienna seemed scarcely to have retained the power of refusing any thing, and obtaining the imperial sanction for definitively and absolutely incorporating with the kingdom of Hungary those provinces of Croatia and Slavonia on their southern border which had hitherto retained a quasi independence of their own—the whole constituted kingdom being of course intended to represent only the dominant nationality of the Magyars. But in this project they met with an opposition quite unexpected, at least in such force. The nationality of the Slavonians had been quickened by the revolutionary epidemic into a passion quite as lively as that of the Magyars; and they very reasonably considered that if the new

system of politics emancipated the Hungarians from the control of the Germans, it could hardly be so anomalous in its operations as to subject them to the control of the Hungarians. Accordingly, the Provincial Diet of Croatia returned a flat refusal to the proposal despatched from Pesth."

The following is the very language resolved upon and addressed to the Imperial throne.

"At a national meeting of the three kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Sclavonia, held at the capital Agram, in March, 1848,
1. The extraordinary position in which the nation finds itself, as well as the restoration of its legal order, requires an authorized head, and with this view it has unanimously elected Baron Joseph Jellachich principal magistrate of the three united kingdoms, a man who possesses the confidence of the whole nation and wishes that the command of the frontier troops and the right of calling together the Diet may be granted to him. 2. That the Diet of these kingdoms be summoned to meet at Agram by May 1st of this year at least. 3. A strong and new union in every respect of the Kingdom of Dalmatia, which, by tradition and by law belongs to us, with the Kingdoms of Croatia and Sclavonia, as well as the annexation of the military frontiers as regards their political administration, and the incorporation of all other parts of our country which, in the course of time have been lost to us and united with the Hungarian Counties and Austrian Provinces. 4. Their national independence. 5. Their own independent ministry responsible to the Diet of these kingdoms, whose members shall consist of men of popular opinions, and devoted to the more modern tendencies towards freedom and progress. 6. The introduction of the national language into the interior and exterior administration of these kingdoms, as well as into all establishments for public instruction. 7. The foundation of a University at Agram. 8. Political and intellectual development on the principles of a free national spirit. 9. Freedom of the press, creeds, instruction, and speech. 10. A yearly Diet at Agram, Esseg, Zara, and Fiume in turns. 11. The representation of the people on the principle of equality without reference to rank, for the approaching as well as for all future Croatian, Dalmatian and Sclavonian Diets. 12. Equality of all in the sight of the law, as well as publicity in law proceedings, together with a jury and responsibility of the judges. 13. Proportionate taxation upon all classes without regard to rank. 14. Exemption from all compulsory labour and corvee, &c. &c."

This was turning the tables upon the Magyars with a vengeance! What said the Magyars to these demands of the Sclavonians? That the Sclavonians were "rebels," whilst they, the Magyars, were only loyal subjects in demanding the very same things. Each claimed a

national independence, an independent ministry, a national language, (each meaning thereby a different language) and various other things, some of them excellent in themselves but others inconsistent with national unity of action; and with this material distinction between the demands of the two, that the Magyars wished to regulate matters for both themselves and the Sclavonians, whilst the Sclavonians, with equal positiveness but more modesty, were content to legislate for their own Sclavonian races only, and leave the Magyars to themselves. Each equally referred to ancient history and natural rights, and there were in favour of each party both rules and exceptions in abundance. Pressed by these rival claims what could the poor weak Emperor Ferdinand do? Driven from his capital by insurrection, alarmed out of his wits by the echoes of revolution on every side, responded to by risings and civil wars in his own dominions, he succumbed to what then appeared the stronger party, granted all the demands of the Magyars, a separate ministry, distinct government, &c., &c., and, at their request, issued a proclamation against the Sclavonians. Thereupon Mr. Blackwell in consequence writes to Lord Ponsonby, on 25th April, from Pesth,

"Order seems to prevail in every part of the forty-nine Hungarian Counties, the state of affairs in Sclavonia and Croatia, especially the latter, being far from satisfactory. The Croatians, in fact, refuse to acknowledge the authority of the Hungarian ministers—to receive the acts passed by the late Diet, on the pretext that the royal sanction was extorted by intimidation."

Whether the effect of that constitution of 1848, which was obtained, as Lord Brougham said at Dublin, in a state of "civil war," and which the Magyars are now so bent upon maintaining, did merely contain requisite provisions for the security, freedom and welfare of the people, or whether it, by novel regulations, tended to sever Hungary from the crown of Austria, and prevent the possibility of any united and effective national action for national purposes throughout the Austrian empire, may perhaps best be learned from the report of Lord Ponsonby to Lord Palmerston, who thus writes on 12th May:

"The proceedings of the present Diet until the memorable 15th of March, were much the same as those of the last, and if the Paris revolution had not taken place, it is more than probable that

only a few unimportant bills would have received the royal sanction. The resolutions passed by the delegates on the 15th March, gave quite a different character to the Diet. All the bills under discussion were thrown aside, and a number of fresh ones—most of them of a provisional nature—introduced. The Diet has thus been enabled to pass thirty-one acts in the course of three weeks, acts which have effected a radical change in the Hungarian Constitution and in the future independence of the kingdom."

Instead, then, of being "consecrated by centuries," the Hungarian Constitution of 1848 is, according to Lord Ponsonby, a "radical change." Lord Ponsonby proceeds to say,

"It has rendered Hungary to all intents and purposes an independent kingdom, merely connected with Austria by the circumstance of the two countries being still under the sceptre of a common sovereign. It will be seen, in fact, that by the 6th clause the King of Hungary binds himself to exercise the executive power in every department of the state, civil, military, ecclesiastical, and financial, exclusively by means of a responsible Hungarian ministry. In respect to the employment of the Hungarian army, for instance, which is the most important point, it is needless to observe that when the Hungarian troops now stationed in Galicia, Moravia, Lombardy, and other Austrian states, return to Hungary, they cannot be sent out of the kingdom again without an order of the Hungarian Minister of War, who, of course, would not issue such an order, without being authorised to do so by the Diet. And supposing for instance, that the Hungarians should at any time deem it advisable to furnish a contingent of troops to assist Austria against any foreign power, a measure that would be tantamount to a declaration of war against that power by Hungary, and the Austrian ministers should advise the Emperor-King to employ them for some other purpose than that for which they had been furnished, against another foreign power or a province in insurrection, for instance, it is obvious that this could not be legally done without the royal order being countersigned by the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs; so that, in point of fact, the Hungarian army, whether within or without the limits of the kingdom, is placed under the authority of Hungarian ministers responsible for their actions to the legislative assembly of the nation."

It is perfectly obvious that such a constitution could not work, or at least would so work as to prevent the possibility of Austria accomplishing any common national purpose, and would soon lead to a total severance of Hungary from Austria, as less inconvenient than the anomaly of two independent nations connected only by one nominal sove-

reign for both, but with independent ministries for each, who may act as seems well to each of them, be the one at peace and the other at war with surrounding nations, each establish different laws, custom duties, &c. &c., and each pull in different directions, like two hounds joined by one leather thong, but each pulling different ways according to their several inclinations. Better far that all union between them should be at once dissolved, than such an absurd arrangement as this be continued. Yet this new and impracticable constitution of 1848, is what so many English newspapers and readers of newspapers are backing the Magyars in their demand for, as if it were an ancient or even a possibly enduring state of things. Suppose that, instead of a legislative union with England, Ireland Scotland and Wales had, taking advantage of the state of war in which England was engaged, required to have each a separate parliament and an independent ministry, so that each might carry out such acts as might seem good to themselves and be united only by the golden circlet of the crown, one of them might prefer free trade, another protective duties, and the third a system of reciprocity ; on one side of the channel or the border, the parliament and ministry might prefer to be at war with a neighbouring country, on the other side of which channel or border another parliament and ministry might prefer to be at peace with such neighbour, nor can we perceive anything in this constitution to prevent the two independent parliaments and ministries, notwithstanding the royal bridge between them, going to war with each other. This is not merely a possible, or probable, but was in Hungary an actual result. The Magyar Diet and the Croatian Diet did wage war against each other. And the unfortunate Emperor Ferdinand, after first in his utter helplessness yielding to the demands of the Magyars, clung afterwards to the Croatian plank to save himself from destruction, whereupon the Magyars, by solemn act, declared him to have forfeited the crown and renounced their allegiance to him. Orders sent from the Imperial Viceroy in Hungary to the Ban of Croatia that he should acknowledge the authority and government of Hungary, were, as Lord Ponsonby reports, received by him with silent disobedience, though he prevented public feeling being manifested by the burning of the orders ; they only burned the portrait of the viceroy. From which date,

as Consul-General Fonblanche reports on 22nd May, "the Croatian people consider themselves at open war with the Hungarians, and all are occupied in preparation for a combat they desire and which they believe to be certain. The Slavonian and Livonian movements are, for the most part, national and natural impulses." The Emperor, at the request of the Hungarians, appointed the Archduke John to mediate between them and the Croatians. The result is thus reported by Lord Ponsonby from Innspruck on 25th June. "The Hungarians have lately completely failed in forcing the Croatians to submit to their superiority, although they employed the authority of the Austrian Government." He remarks also that "the Croatians, including the military colonies, are the best affected and the best soldiers of the empire." And on the 3rd July he reports information from "a person who is well known to me to be a leading man in Croatia, that a conflict with the Hungarians would be the signal for the general rising of Southern Slavonic races and that the Austrians would be supported by the Croatians, but that if the Austrian Government will force them to be under the Hungarians, they will rather prefer placing themselves under the Russian rule than submitting to the Hungarians."

A meeting was held at Vienna, the Emperor being still at Innspruck, between Jellachich and Batthyany, the Hungarian minister, but they could not arrive at any arrangement. On the 26th August Lord Ponsonby reports that "the Croatians demand from the Emperor the repeal of the imperial order requiring them to submit to the authority of the Magyars, and that the Croatians and all others being inhabitants of Hungary, or assumed to belong to that country, be placed in a state of perfect equality with the Magyars in every respect." And he adds, "the Croatians and their chief, Jellachich, are zealous for the connection of their country with the Emperor, and for the maintenance of the integrity of the Austrian empire." On the 31st of August Lord Ponsonby writes from Vienna, "Jellachich now proposes as his object the overthrow of Kossuth, and the establishment in Vienna of a central power to manage the military and financial affairs of Hungary. Jellachich says it is impossible for him to go back without establishing the arrangements desired either by treaty or by force. He

says his people would act without him were he to attempt retrogression. The Hungarian ministers are now in Vienna to ask the Imperial Government for military assistance. The object of Jellachich and his associates is to reestablish the authority of the Austrian Government as existing under a constitutional system, and to keep the empire together in force sufficient to resist attacks from any quarter." And again, on 1st September he writes, "The affairs of Hungary cannot I believe be settled unless the Hungarians submit somehow or other to the terms Jellachich requires; the most important of which are, that the army of Hungary should be under the war department of the empire, and the finances also, in a certain degree, be committed to the charge of the Austrian Minister of Finance. The question seems to be, how are the required changes to be brought about? The *new law* of Hungary relating to them must either be altered by the Hungarian Diet or the change effected by force of arms by the Croatians."

These passages from Lord Ponsonby's letters show that the determination of the Croatians was spontaneous and general amongst them, and so strong as not to be capable of controul, and they also explain why the Austrian Emperor eventually transferred his confidence from the Magyars to the Croatians, because it is obvious that the latter opposed those new Hungarian laws which stripped the crown of the powers requisite for government. We pass over the military actions as being sufficiently known, and prefer endeavouring to arrive at the motives which led to the more remarkable events. Jellachich was marching against Pesth, the Hungarian Deputies were at Vienna, "desiring," says Lord Ponsonby, "to get military and pecuniary assistance from the Austrian Government against him. The Austrian Government will not give either." General Lambert was sent to Pesth, "to procure the arrangement of difficulties between the Hungarians and Croatians,"—and there murdered. Lord Ponsonby in reporting this event on the 2nd of October, says, "the proceedings of Kossuth on the occasion induced the greater part of the Hungarian men of consideration to fly from Pesth.....The Austrian Government is to make the Ban Generalissimo of all the troops. The Hungarian regiments of hussars which had taken part with Kossuth and the Hungarian Government, as it assumed to be,

have submitted to his authority. Thus a step which is thought to have been a bad stroke of policy on the part of the Austrian Government has, by the murder of the poor general in Pesth, turned out to be extremely advantageous to the Imperial Government."

The Emperor, on the 3rd of October, after referring to the resolution of the Hungarian Diet against the mission of General Lambert, and his consequent murder, dissolved the Diet, and appointed Jellachich Lieutenant-General of all the troops in Hungary and Transylvania. In consequence of an attempt to send Austrian troops from Vienna against the Magyars, a rising occurred, and as Lord Ponsonby writes on the 7th of October, "General Latour was surprised and murdered in the War Office, and his naked body hung up to a lamp post," and the Emperor and his family again retreated from Vienna. Lord Ponsonby had, on the 2nd, written, "Pesth has hitherto been under the influence of the same party whose works have produced mischief in Paris, Frankfort, Berlin, and Vienna, and all parts of Germany and Italy; *the authors and actors of attempts to create and to make successful a sys*em of social war under the name and pretence of men seeking political liberty.*" The Hungarian Diet on the contrary declares on 10th October, in a solemn address, that it "is impressed with the warmest feelings of gratitude for the heroic devotion of the noble inhabitants of Vienna, by means of which it has distinguished itself so nobly in preventing the increase of the traitor Jellachich's army," and threatens the "robber hordes" of "the rebel Jellachich" with "merited destruction"; a threat, however, which they failed to execute. The Magyars advanced to aid the insurgents in Vienna, but Vienna was taken and the Magyars driven back by the combined Austrian and Croatian forces.

On the 19th November, 1848, Lord Ponsonby writes to Lord Palmerston,

"Baron Jellachich has freely declared that the Austrian Government, if victorious, will not demand from the Hungarians any severer terms than those formerly proposed, namely, the enjoyment by all the tribes inhabiting Hungary of equal national rights; that is, the termination of the Magyar predominance, the connection of the administration of the Hungarian army with the administration of the Austrian army, so that both shall be under the authority of the Emperor; the connection of the administra-

tion of the finances of Hungary with that of the finances of the Imperial Government."

How exactly does this sentence indicate the cause of the quarrel and the different objects aimed at by each party, and how exactly have the expectations which were raised by this announcement been fulfilled by the constitution recently promulgated by the Emperor of Austria! The language might indeed have been a description of it by anticipation.

In December 1848 Ferdinand abdicated in favour of his nephew the present Emperor, and in January 1849, Lord Ponsonby sends the following extract from an article respecting Hungary, which he says "may be depended upon as the expression of the opinion and the present intentions of the Imperial ministers." We copy it at length, because it so exactly corresponds with and dovetails into every thing which has since occurred on the part of Austria.

"The melancholy consequences of the *de facto* separation of Hungary during whole months in financial, military, and commercial respects prove to conviction that an intimate organic union of Hungary with the whole monarchy is the only basis of the safety and happy regeneration of that province, as well as of the prosperity of the Austrian monarchy, and consequently that union must have an essential influence on the maintenance of a policy in central Europe which ensures the balance of states, the principal factor of such policy being a great and powerful Austria. It is possible that this union has, on account of its great political importance, been the object of the endeavours of the Austrian Government for many centuries past; but its accomplishment was impossible as long as Hungary possessed constitutional privileges, whilst the other portions of the monarchy were governed absolutely. This difference in form, in contradiction with a real unity of the monarchy is now entirely changed; for the absolute Government of the Austrian Monarchy has become constitutional, and the Hungarian constitution has ceased to exist, inasmuch as not only the principal and fundamental privileges of the Hungarian aristocracy, such as the exclusive right of possession and of employment, the freedom from all taxes, from the conscription, &c., have been abolished, but the palladium of the constitution likewise, in force for more than eight centuries, namely, the autonomy of the counties, has been *annulled by the last Presburgh Diet*, which obtained by force a separate ministry, entirely unconnected with the Government of the monarchy, with the responsibility of which the preservation of the municipal liberties exercised in the counties is

incompatible.....What still remained of the provisions of the Hungarian Constitution with respect to the King and Monarchy was destroyed by the Kossuth-Batthyany ministry, and by the half wicked half terrorised Diet at Pesth. The last traces of the rights accorded to the Hungarians by the Pragmatic Sanction have been effaced since the murder of the noble Count Lamberg, by the terrorism of the Dictatorship of Kossuth, and by the revolutionary proceedings of the illegal Diet which, in opposition to the Manifesto of 3rd October, continued its sittings, and by its treasonable revolutions, particularly the one of 7th December, trod in the most daring manner, the Pragmatic Sanction underfoot. As the Hungarian Constitution has, in its essential part been destroyed and annulled by the Hungarians themselves; as the Hungarians have, by their armed revolt, forfeited that provision of the Pragmatic Sanction which says that they shall not be governed by the rule of the rest of the hereditary provinces, and as they have brought about the necessity of making war upon them to conquer them, while the Government of the entire monarchy has in no manner departed from the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction, doing, on the contrary, its very utmost to maintain the point that they should be governed together and undivided; finally, as the accession of our Emperor, in the strength of his youth, decidedly corresponds to the requirements of the moment as regards the Hungarians, and sets aside all the superfluous scruples of the oath taken at the coronation, we may assume, according to God and common reason, that the Hungarian constitution no longer exists, and that Hungary must, in as far as is necessary, be considered as a tabula rasa. Thus the moment has arrived for Hungary and Austria, which must decide for a long time to come with respect to the fate both of the one and the other. Of the success of the war there is no longer the slightest doubt; but after this war it will be the first and most sacred duty of Austria thoroughly to reorganize a country which so rich by nature, has been ruined by its anarchical dictators, by a miserable administration and a suicidal war."

In due sequence to this on the 8th March, 1849, Lord Ponsonby communicated to Lord Palmerston the constitution proclaimed by the young Emperor on the 4th, "consolidating the various kingdoms and states which are subject to his crown into one united empire and establishing a government for the whole, and an administration of its several parts upon liberal principles," and of which the constitution more recently promulgated is but the detailed completion.

The following are leading features of the earlier announcement, and vitally touch the question of the supremacy or equality of races.

"Equal justice will be given to all races and each race has the inviolable right of preserving and maintaining its own nationality and language.

"The whole empire is placed on the same footing as regards duties and commerce. Interior duties cannot exist under any pretence, and where such duties at present exist between separate parts of the Empire, they are to be done away with as soon as possible. For all nations of the empire the right of Austrian citizenship is one and the same. Every species of serfage, every kind of feudal subjection is now for ever abolished. On touching the Austrian soil or the deck of an Austrian ship, every slave becomes free. All Austrian citizens are equal in the eye of the law and are liable to the same legal treatment. The public offices and employments in the service of the state are open to all who are capable of filling them."

These obviously just and equal regulations completed, we fear, the disgust of the Magyars, and seem to have had no small influence in determining them to sever altogether from the Austrian monarchy, for on the 14th of the following month of April the Magyar National Assembly at Debreczin, which had so long been at open war with Austria, passed the memorable Declaration of Independence, the purport of which we have before stated. Consul-General Colquhoun, in communicating this to Lord Palmerston, writes on the 10th of May, "On the 14th ultimo a grand sitting of the Diet was held in the church of Debreczin. On the proposition of M. Kossuth, the House of Austria was for ever deposed from the throne of Hungary. There was a large party in the Diet against this measure as being too violent and *premature*; but it was nevertheless carried by a large majority, and among the people it is popular." Bear in mind that "people" means only the noble Magyars, and not the ignoble "plebs."

The civil war proceeded with varying success, and in the course of it attempts were made to negotiate between the Magyar and Slavonic races. But although the Emperor had, on the 4th of March, 1849, proclaimed the equal rights of all races, we find Bathiany, the Magyar minister, requiring on the 10th of June, 1849, as one of "the principles which must prove a basis to any conciliation—the supremacy of the Magyar element, acquired 1000 years ago by the armed hand, the foundation of our autonomy, and consecrated by the use of the Magyar as

the diplomatic language." *They* were not content with equality, they claimed ascendancy, and were dissatisfied with the Emperor because, as part of a free constitution, he offered them only equality. Events went on adversely to the Magyars—when at last defeat seemed imminent, and their supremacy was perforce passing away, they on the 28th of July publicly proclaimed the "equal rights of all nationalities." It was then *too late*, and within one month afterwards, Georgey was a prisoner and Kossuth a fugitive. Schlesinger, in his "War in Hungary," vol. ii. p. 188, remarks, that this "recognition of equal rights came a year too late; for it now merely offered to the Slavonic races a concession which had already been secured to them by the Emperor of Austria, and offered it, moreover, in sight of their burnt down cities, desolated villages, and desecrated graves. The Magyar haughtiness and the thirst for supremacy in the Hungarian nobility never suffered a deeper humiliation than from the resolutions passed at this sitting of the Diet. It was the last—the great expiatory sin offering of the representatives of the Hungarian nation for long years of injustice to the other races."

On the 14th of August Lord Ponsonby wrote to Lord Palmerston,

"I do believe that, if victorious, the Austrians will give some constitution to Hungary, with a view to the establishment in that country of as much contentment as they may be able to produce; but they will not ever consent to establish the ancient constitution of Hungary, which has been abolished by the acts of the Hungarian Diet, acting under the direction of the Liberal party and its leader Kossuth, according to legal forms, and sanctioned by the late Emperor. Whenever the war in Hungary shall be terminated—if that shall be in favour of the Austrians—I think that Austria will take care to hold all the fortresses of Hungary in her own hands, and to place Vienna in security against such dangers as those were to which that capital has been exposed. The Magyars are now fast sinking into comparative insignificance. *It is an error to talk of them as ten millions of people; it is an error to think they are the people of Hungary.* They are not much more than one third of the population, and they are not favoured or liked by the other portions of it."

Soon afterwards the Magyars were finally defeated, and obliged unconditionally to surrender, Kossuth, the governor, having previously resigned, and at the same time, by

his individual proclamation, appointed General Georgey Dictator, who capitulated in August.

In the following month of September, Lord Ponsonby wrote to Lord Palmerston,

"I have no certain knowledge of the intentions of the Austrian Government with relation to the settlement of Hungarian affairs, but I believe that the constitution nearly in substance, as it is seen in the original, as proclaimed on the 4th of March, 1849, will be established in that country after a lapse of some time, which will be employed by the Imperial Government in securing the peace of Hungary, &c."

The following document, though lengthy, well deserves to be copied, since it states the demand which, since the defeat of the Magyars, the Slavaks of the north (who, it will be recollect, are different from the Sclavonians of the south, though of the same race and origin) have addressed to the Emperor of Austria; it suggests that the Magyar difficulty is not the only one, that others have to be satisfied as well as they, and that, perhaps, in doing justice to all these Hungarian races, it may not be easy or even possible to fulfil all the wishes of all, but that each should smooth a little the edge of individual desire in order that all may enjoy their constitution together.

The Deputies of the Slavaks thus address the Emperor on the 10th of September, 1849.

"As the victorious imperial armies have now overcome the mad rebellion in Hungary, it is presumed that the Government will immediately take under their consideration the political organization of Hungary, the result of which is that they will have to decide on the political life of 3,000,000, of Slavaks, and consequently the said Deputies think that it would be agreeable to the Government to attend to the just wishes of the faithful Slavak nation, in order that in this most important work they, as well as the other nations of this mighty state, may have them regarded with like paternal love, and, if they be feasible, granted to them.

"The Slavish nationality of Upper Hungary, still sighs under the heavy chains of Magyar supremacy, under the present—for the most part—Kossuthian magistrates, and under the disloyal influence springing from feudalism of the renegade nobility, who denied the Slavish nationality, and with obstinate pertinacity continues to worship with idolatry the Magyar supremacy; and finally, under the constant threat of loss of life and property from the rebellious guerillas. The Slavish nation is in consequence not in a position to make its wishes known formally; for its feet are bound, it can-

not walk, its mouth is closed, it cannot speak; but this it will only be able to do through its lawful and properly instructed representatives. It being so, some time must elapse before the Slavish nation can make known even its just wishes, and lay the same at the foot of the Imperial Throne; this would however be too late.

"Under such circumstance, the said Deputies consider it to be their duty, in the interest of the Imperial Throne, of the united empire, and of this unexampled oppressed nationality, to make known to the Government the wishes of the nation to whom they belong, and which are become known to them from experience, from their correspondence, and many other means of information, and to bring forward the following for their consideration.

"1. That the octroy'd constitution of the 4th of March be forthwith given to the Slavish nation, in the German and Slavish languages.

"The Deputies will warrant that the faithful Slavish nation will receive the same with pious gratitude, for it impatiently waits the time to hail from the mouths of the Imperial organs, the sacred principle of equal rights. It will honour with eternal gratitude the imperial gift of its kind and most beloved monarch, as it will break the Magyar chains, and secure to it a new political existence. The Deputies trust that their nation, under the prudent and paternal direction of the Imperial Government, will never forget the generous gift, and never waver in the proved fidelity to the dynasty and throne.

"Equality of rights can, however, only become a reality when the Slavish nation is for ever freed from the Magyar yoke, and their return to it for the future rendered impossible. The Slavish nation therefore wish,—

"2. That the Slovakish North Hungarian nation be separated from the Magyars, under the old name of 'Slovakia.' Slovensko (so as the Serbian Voyvodina) shall be constituted a separate crown land, and shall be subject to the undivided authority of the Imperial Government. That the districts in the provinces are to be ruled and administered by the Emperor and by men who have proved true to their nationality (Slavaks or Germans speaking their language), and not by their eternal oppressors, Magyars or Magway Slaves; and that, therefore, the Rutheneans may be left to themselves, and the included Germans and Magyars be guaranteed their own nationality, as, on the other hand, the Slavaks included in Magyar comitats are to preserve theirs.

"The German language is, however, to be the official one, between the Government and the provincial authorities of Slovakia.

"The Deputies think it necessary to state, among others, the following important reasons for their desire for Slavak nationality. It would be impossible, on account of the number, for the smallest

nationalities to sit in a mixed Hungarian Landtag, as, from existing circumstances, from the weakened spirit of nationality, from the Magyar intolerance of nationality, oriental presumption, and depreciation of the value of smaller nationalities from the reaction which is now naturally showing itself, an irreconcileable aversion between the assembled representatives must exist.

"A Landtag composed of such elements can in no way be a support of the Throne, nor serve the united Empire; it cannot cement the common weal; it can only hem in the Government, and lead to the ruin of the whole.

"If even the Slaves had the direction of their own civil and legal matters, under a common Governor, the Slaves would never become, through the eternal intrigues of the mercenary Slavish nobility, freed from Magyar supremacy, and would in a short time, particularly at the first political crisis, again fall a sacrifice to them.

"It is also to be considered that if the Slavish is to continue united with the Magyar, it can never arrive at a powerful political existence or self knowledge, and that, at the first political crisis, it might regard with apathy the unextinguished Magyar tendencies, as it would have no political existence of its own, no national position in the state to lose.

"Further, it cannot be the interest of the Imperial Throne and of the united monarchy to allow the imposing population of 3,000,000 of Slaves to be misused as an instrument for Hungarian nationality."

The difficulties of union are here indicated from an opposite point of view, and the feelings of animosity which the races entertain towards each other will obviously make any united action difficult. Each wishes to be independent of the other, whilst, in the common interest of all, the Emperor declines to detach them from each other; their feelings would keep them ever apart, whilst he, sensible of the practical inconveniences of separate Diets or Parliaments under one monarchy, seeks to bring in due proportion the scattered elements of nationality into one legislative body; and whilst therefore he secures the equal constitutional rights of all, he refuses only so much of the requests of both Magyar and Slavak as would perpetuate division and almost inevitably lead to dismemberment. Instead of the prevalent disposition to put the worst construction upon every thing that Austria says or does, it seems to us that Great Britain, which has but recently passed through a similar crisis herself, should look with sympathy and hope upon the efforts of Austria to cure the

divisions of her children and comprehend them all in one social and national union.

An examination of the facts has led us to these conclusions. 1. That the Magyars do *not* constitute the population of Hungary, but only a minority of that population. 2. That the civil war of 1848-9 was essentially a war between the Magyar race and the Slavonic race. 3. That the constitution to which the Magyars extorted the acquiescence of the old Emperor in 1848 was *not* the ancient Hungarian constitution, but a newly modelled constitution which the revolution of Paris and the eruptive tendencies of Europe generally encouraged them to extort, which was not capable of working with any tolerable smoothness, and which must have ended, and was probably designed to end, in a total severance of Hungary from the crown of Austria. And, 4. Whatever that constitution was, whether old or new, good or bad, it could not be legally claimed by the Magyars after they had engaged in civil war against their sovereign, still less after they had solemnly deposed and banished him.

The ground therefore is clear for the introduction of a new constitution, and the only question remains whether that which has been promulgated by the Emperor is adapted to the people, is such as all ought equally to enjoy, such as may secure individual rights, promote the common weal, satisfy the reasonable claims of every race and party, give to the one central parliament, and to the divers local bodies those appropriate powers which each should possess, and to the Emperor that duly regulated but effective executive authority which alone can hold the whole together, and employ the energies of the whole in any combined action. That the new constitution is of such a character seems to be universally admitted, and the wish of every intelligent friend of good government should be that it may accomplish its purposes, make the Austrian people contented and happy, and the Austrian empire powerful and peaceful. That such national ingredients as we have described should at once subside into satisfied quiescence is not to be expected, hardly even to be desired; discussion and even agitation and pressure may be useful, they are sure to occur among a free and intelligent people, and if they involve risk, from them with prudence and patience may be evolved health and vigour. The very excellence of the constitution may

make it unacceptable to some of the races to be governed by it—some of them may not be content with equality and long for ascendancy, heedless that the exaltation of one must imply the depression of others, and it seems very probable that both the Magyars and Slavonians may each at this moment prefer to stand out for two or more separate Diets and two or more separate independent ministries, rather than form parts of one national parliament; but such preferences obviously conflict both with each other and with the common welfare. As children cry for toys, men unused to constitutional government loudly claim privileges which are inconsistent with such a government, or with any stable government—both must be denied, and the children and the men both live to learn and acknowledge that their happiness is more effectually consulted by such denials than it would have been by concessions. And so we trust the various races of Hungary will live to learn and acknowledge that their happiness and prosperity will, in the long run, be more effectually compassed by one parliament legislating for the equal welfare of the whole people, than by separate Diets for the several races, which would weaken each other and paralyse the nation.

Along with the form must be adopted the spirit of a constitutional Government. No subject should be allowed, nor any sovereign attempt, to transgress the rules of the constitution for any purpose whatever, however tempting the immediate advantage may appear. It is one of the inconveniences of constitutional government that many even right and desirable things cannot be done so promptly and readily as under a despotism. The constitutional form is preferred, not because it is in every instance the most effective, but because it is deemed best in its entire results, and those results cannot be attained without its being preserved under all circumstances inviolate. The rulers and the subjects have both to learn this lesson; neither perhaps will be at first or for some time inclined in certain cases to go round by the constitutional road when they see a short cut before them. Yet must the regular track be maintained, all trespass be avoided, the constitution be respected by the rulers, cherished by the people, and acquire a character of sanctity in the eyes of all, if it is to yield all the good results of which it is capable. The Government must learn to do less, and to confide in the people to do more; when the civil Government

has provided for the protection of life and property, and removed all obstacles in the way of individual exertion, it must then be content to leave the people to work out their welfare for themselves, encouraging and rewarding perhaps in some few instances their efforts, but more ordinarily leaving them to their own reward, and thus encouraging rather self-reliance, self-culture, and persevering industry, than any leaning upon Government.

The country is rich, but its products may be greatly increased by improving the arrangements between landlords, tenants, and labourers, giving to the first fixed payments, to the second certain tenure, and to the last money wages by the day, week, or year, putting an end to the roboth or payment of rent in labour, which is the worst mode of payment to both landowner and peasant, for it inclines the one to be idle and the other exacting, and both to be dissatisfied; let every one engaged in manual labour have the keenest motive for industry, by increased earnings in proportion to the work he does.

And as to the minerals of the country, which are abundant and of great value, the crown and the noble proprietors would probably find it to their advantage to confide the working of them to men of capital, science, and experience, who would pay them a fixed tonnage or rent greater in amount than the net profits they could obtain by keeping such undertakings in their own royal or aristocratic hands. Let all monopolies be abolished. Endeavour to extinguish the animosities of race, though not in too great a hurry, that when all men have equal rights, and are on a social level, they may gradually forget the distinctions of race, and fuse into one strong amalgam. Give, in fine, fair play to the physical and mental energies of a people who, take them all in all, are not excelled in the world, who have most of our virtues with few of our vices. To make such a land and such a people all that they are capable of being made is one of the noblest of human enterprises. We heartily wish them success. There are, and of course there will be difficulties, but not greater than we have experienced at home—may they learn wisdom from our varied career, avoid our errors, and imitate only where we have deserved imitation—and may the years be few ere the various races of Austria, Hungary, and Venetia, become as contented and as united as those of England, Ireland, and Scotland!

ART. VII.—1. *De Regimine Principis.* S. Thomas Aquinas. Rome, 1615.

2. *Commentaries on Public Law.* Sir G. Bowyer. London, 1831.

3. *Saggio di Diritto Natural.* L. Tapparelli, S.J. Leghorn, Mansi, 1851.

THE attacks lately made on the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, arousing, as they have done, all the warmest feelings and passions, both of his defenders and assailants, have given rise to a host of pamphlets in every language of Europe on the subject of his right to the Government of his states. A logical mind must at once perceive that the first question to be decided is, what conditions are necessary to give any Government a just claim to the allegiance of its subjects? The second is, Does the Papal Government fulfil these conditions? The former is the major of the syllogism: the latter the minor: if the parties in the argument be not agreed on the former, there is no use in their discussing the latter. Yet this is precisely the ambiguity which runs through the whole controversy: and which has, we believe, puzzled and distressed some Catholic minds. They are anxious to think the Pope in the right, and to wish for his success: yet they cannot satisfactorily answer the arguments of his opponents, even to themselves; because they have tacitly admitted an erroneous major, and assented to an erroneous standard for the decision of the question, whether his government is a lawful and just one. In very truth, the origin of all this is older and deeper than the present controversy, though this has brought it prominently forward; and we therefore think that we may do some service by investigating and explaining the doctrine of government, or, as it may be more fully expressed, the question of the rights and duties of governments and subjects. And here we must premise two things. First, that although the question of the Papal Government has turned attention to this class of subjects, we write with no reference whatever, implied or otherwise, to that question; we leave the defence of the Pope to his other advocates, and investigate the general problem of all government. Secondly, that the question, as we

intend to treat it, is not one of positive teaching on the part of the Church ; but like other questions of deductive morality, an open one ; although the axioms on which the whole investigation must be founded, are fixed by its authority ; and although no Catholic could safely disregard, even in collaterals, the teaching of the great Catholic doctors. What that teaching has been, and what may be considered to be the soundest Catholic views on the subject, it is our special aim to investigate and elucidate.

To understand this clearly, we must for a moment reflect on what is the mode of teaching of the Church, with regard to morals. Whilst on points of belief, the decisions of the Church, so to speak, cover the whole ground ; on points of morals, the great leading principles are clearly laid down ; and their more immediate consequences authoritatively enforced ; but the more remote consequences and their applications are left to the discussion of casuists ; and the practical application of principles in each individual case remains a question for the individual conscience guided and directed by authority. Thus the Church clearly lays down the principle that killing in an unlawful war is murder, and that wars undertaken without just cause are unlawful. But although certain extreme cases of unjust war are clearly ascertainable, she nowhere undertakes to lay down a whole detailed theory by which to decide at once peremptorily the justice or injustice of any particular war. In like manner, the doctrine that the authority of lawful governments is derived from God, and that lawful governors, in the exercise of their authority, must be obeyed "not only for fear, but also for conscience sake" is positively laid down ; but no empirical formula is given by which to test in every instance whether a particular government is lawful or not : and the correlative doctrine is equally emphatically enforced ; that civil governors are not to be obeyed when their commands are contrary to the law of God, "for we must obey God rather than man"; and that governors are bound to govern justly, "for by me do kings reign and princes administer justice;" but no formula is given to decide when a command, being unjust may be lawfully disobeyed. Thus we perceive that the question of what constitutes a lawful government, and what are its rights ; and the correlative

one of what constitute practically the rights and duties of subjects, is, as we have said, one for open discussion, guided by the light of those venerable authorities, the great Catholic doctors of all ages.

From the fifteenth century to the present day two opposite theories have divided opinions on the subject, especially in Protestant countries; and their influence has been felt even in Catholic lands. One, commonly known as that of divine right, or the divine right of kings (founded as will be shewn later, on an ambiguous use of the term "divine right") may more properly be called that of absolutism.* Its leading principles are that rulers are appointed directly by God, and hold their power immediately from Him: and are accountable directly or indirectly only to Him; they are God's vicegerents, answerable only to Him; and that subjects have no rights against them, nor can in any way call them to account, or resist them. They are indeed bound to govern justly, but this is a duty only to God, and therefore confers no correlative rights on their subjects.^t

The opposite theory, which claims for itself, (a little unjustly as we shall see later) the exclusive title of liberty, and that of the sovereignty of the people, may be more correctly designated as that of the sovereign rights of populations.

Its leading principles are—That all power of government is founded only on the delegation of the population, and consists only of the aggregate amount of individual right voluntarily surrendered by each individual for the sake of living in society. That all power resides in the population as individuals, who, when they elect a governor, (whom they need not create at all) delegate to him

* Not despotism, which is different.

† Amongst Catholic writers who sustain this doctrine, we may mention the writer of the edition of "Institutiones Philosophiae Lugdunenses," published in the reign of Louis XIV; in the older edition it is not to be found. F. Amat Archbishop of Palmira idea della Chiesa militante cap 3. ap. Balmes, Catholicity and Protestantism compared, vol. 4. The Imperial constitution of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria ap. Balmes, vol. 3. Count de Maistre and writers of his school, although they cannot be said fully to adopt these views, lean towards them from their antagonism to the Revolutionary theories.

such power as they choose ; which they may as freely revoke. In this view the people alone have rights, governors possess none against those who, as they *made*, can also *unmake* them.*

Such, stated in their clearest terms, are the two theories which divide public opinion in these and other countries. Not that almost any writer on either side states them nakedly or pushes them to their farthest logical limits. In this, as in most other cases, men shrink from the rigid application of their own theories. The supporters of the divine right of kings speak tenderly of subjects, and how they ought to be treated by their rulers, whilst the advocates of popular rights speak reverently of existing governments,† and each is strongest in attacking their opponents and pointing out the weak points in their arguments.

Up to the fifteenth century these questions had excited comparatively little attention and led to few practical differences. The great Catholic writers had indeed, as we shall see later, laid down sound principles, but their practical discussion was seldom called for by circumstances. The Governments of Europe which arose out of the deluge of barbarian invasion in which the Roman Empire had perished, were governments of fact, not of theory. They were of all sorts, and arose in all sorts of ways; and all seem to have been considered equally legitimate. In Venice, a community of emigrants, all tolerably equal, agreed to govern themselves in an oligarchical republic. In France, the leaders of tribes of warlike barbarians, who had acquired the leadership by virtue of the strength of their arm and the keenness of their intellect, transmitted their power, with the title of king, to their descendants, who were freely obeyed by the descendants of those whom their fathers had led to battle and conquest. In Rome a society, abandoned by its

* See Hobbes, Rousseau, and Paine, for full development of these principles.

† This is most observable in the English whig writers who whilst basing their support of the Revolution of 1688 on the rights of the people, try to modify in every way the rights of the people, to upset any other government. See Macaulay's masterly account of the discussions at the Revolution.

former rulers, prayed a bishop to rule and guard them, and gave to him an authority which they certainly did not seem to consider revocable.

Some features all these varied governments had in common. The power of government (in whomever that power might reside) was held to be most large, indeed, with one restriction, almost unlimited, certainly unrestrained by any popular will. One restriction was held to bind all governments, whatever their origin or form, the obligation of ruling justly. Governors who ruled unjustly were always held to have forfeited their power. In fact, justice was held to be the essence of government, without which it was not government but tyranny, lawfully to be resisted. And as no rule could be laid down beforehand to test the justice of any particular government, the Popes, as the great arbiters of morals, were constantly appealed to by nations against their unjust governors. Another characteristic which distinguished more or less the mediæval governments, was the absence of perfectly absolute power in any government. Rudely and awkwardly enough, but still effectually, the power of the government was held in check by other powers; by powerful barons, by free cities, by ecclesiastical communities, by absence of standing armies, and the pecuniary wants of sovereigns, and more than all, by the controlling power of the Roman Pontiffs.

Whilst thus no perfect despotism existed in Europe, the masses of the people were not educated, or strong enough to exercise or claim any considerable share in the government, and the question of their right to do so remained in abeyance. It is, however, to be remarked, that almost all the Governments of Europe retained some vestige of a choice or veto on the part of the people in the choice of their rulers. The old Spanish oath of allegiance is well known.* And in our own country, not only were the Saxon Kings chosen, but even after the conquest the people were asked at the coronation whether

* We who each of us are as strong as you, and all of us are stronger than you, swear to be faithful and true to you as long as you observe our rights and privileges, and if not—not. The Hungarian oath was somewhat similar.

they were willing to have the person about to be crowned for their king.*

But with the sixteenth century came a new state of things. Both kings and peoples were becoming stronger. The people were becoming stronger because they were more wealthy and more educated, and therefore better fitted and more anxious to take a part in government. The king was more powerful, because war had become a science, regular standing armies had arisen, and he possessed the power of the sword. And to add to and exasperate these elements of contention, men had, in many places, thrown off the controlling power of that religion which had in so many instances checked the excesses of the two parties ; the power of that religion which, wielded by the Sovereign Pontiffs, had so often proved a check on the tyranny of kings, and had protected the people from the abuses of absolute power by enforcing the obligation of ruling justly. The sixteenth century saw in almost every country of Europe the contest between the sovereign and the people brought to the bloody arbitrament of the sword ; and the struggle continued with varying results for some two hundred years. In most countries, for the reasons so well pointed out by Macaulay in the first chapter of his history, it terminated in the establishment of an absolute government. France saw the last vestiges of self-government disappear under Louis XIV. who proclaimed "l'état c'est moi." In Spain, Charles V. attained to a power which overshadowed that of the Cortes ; and that power was consolidated under his son Philip II. A little later arose the equally absolute Catholic House of Hapsburg : and the Protestant House of Brandenburg. In the Low Countries indeed, the struggle ended in the triumph of the popular element, and the establishment of republican institutions ; whilst in our own country it terminated, after many vicissitudes, in a compromise between the two powers, and the establishment of a government, perhaps analogous in its nature to the limited monarchies of the middle ages.

* See Thierry Conquete de l'Angleterre, vol. 2. p. 13. At the coronation of William the Conqueror, the bishop of Coutances asked the Normans, and the archbishop of York the English, if they were willing to have William for their king.

And whilst the men of action were in every country carrying out this contest between the people and the rulers to practical results, the men of thought were equally busy endeavouring to justify their own side ; and to frame a theory of government consonant with their views. As might have been expected, those of the Reformed religion were the most prominent in elaborating these theories : most Catholic writers were content "stare supra antiquas vias." The Reformers, on the other hand, were ready to investigate with searching freedom the foundations of government, and to elaborate new theories on the subject. Their first writers were mostly supporters of the powers of princes. Luther and many of his associates relied on the support and patronage of several of the princes of Germany, and were ready to give the support of their pens to the power which protected them.

Gradually the theory of absolute government, or as it was called, of the divine right of kings, was elaborated and perfected. In our own country it was broadly stated by James I. and was perfected by Filmer and writers of his school.

It may be briefly stated thus. That government by one man, whether king or emperor, was of divine institution, and the only form of government consistent with the divine law. That the power of that governor was derived directly from God, was in fact God's power directly delegated specially and exclusively to that man : and was, as God's power, absolute and unlimited, or, so to speak, that each king was appointed by God to govern a nation as Moses was appointed to govern the Jewish people. From this principle of course it followed that the sovereign thus divinely appointed was answerable to none but God, who appointed him, that his power was unlimited, and that any restraints which might be imposed by laws, were merely concessions, freely made by the sovereign, which he might at any time revoke, and that subjects might not, under any circumstances, question or dispute his authority. It was not, of course, maintained, that he might govern unjustly : no, he was answerable to God for the exercise of his authority, and bound to govern according to His law, but, appointed directly by God, he was answerable to Him alone.

From this doctrine flowed naturally and indeed necessarily, that of legitimacy. As God did not now appoint

kings directly by His prophets, as He had appointed Saul and David, it might be asked, how was the divinely appointed ruler to be known? It was answered, by his legitimate descent from the first ruler. Hence, no revolution, no adverse possession, however long, no act of the legislature, no human power could ever deprive the legitimate descendant of kings of his rights. God, and God alone, could deprive a king of his kingly power, and as it was manifest that God would not work miracles to do so, it was clear that under the Protestant theory there was no power whatever which could restrain a king. Amongst Catholics, God's Vicegerent the Pope was considered, sorely to the annoyance of such absolute sovereigns as Louis XIV., to have, in some respects, his Master's power, and to be competent, in extreme cases, to controul kings.*

Doctrines so extreme as these naturally begot opposition. They were attacked in both their branches, that of the seat of government and that of its power. It was observed that in the Old Testament, so far from the kingly form of government being extolled as the best, the first king had been given as a punishment. The absurdities of the theory of legitimacy were enlarged upon. Hardly a sovereign of Europe could trace an undisputed descent, none but derived their power originally from an usurper. The advocates of divine right shifted their ground and alleged that it was unlawful to resist a king *de facto*. To which it was answered that in case of contest there were two kings *de facto*; or that according to this doctrine a man might justly be hanged on the morning of Bosworth for resisting Richard, and in the evening for having resisted Henry. Nor was the theory of the absolute power of government more spared. That tyranny and cruelty could be under divine sanction, outraged, it was said, the sense of natural justice. It

* The celebrated Oxford decrees embodied these doctrines in a clear form. They formally condemned the doctrine that civil authority is originally derived from the people: or that there exists any compact, tacit or express, between the Prince and his subjects, from the obligation of which if one party resist the other is of course discharged—that subjects may in any case whatever resist their sovereign, &c.

was manifest that mankind had always practically maintained that they had rights as absolute as those of their rulers, and that no Christian Sovereign in Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire, had been absolute. Hitherto men had been content to assert their liberties without investigating the theories on which they were founded, or at most had referred the whole question to the common father of Christianity. But now, having cast off the power of the Popes, they began to cast about for arguments to support their claim to liberty. The foreign Reformers who took this side in Geneva and the Low Countries grounded their denunciations of the kingly power and their assertion of the rights of the people chiefly on what they called Christian liberty. "A true believer, one whom Christ had made free," could not, they maintained, be subject to any merely human power. "The earth was the Lord's and He had given it to His saints." "The law of God was above all human laws," and applying to the state their theory of private judgment, they made each man the judge of whether the commandments of government were just and binding, or the reverse. Carried to their extreme, these doctrines produced the excesses, in Germany, of John of Leyden and the Anabaptists; in Scotland of the Covenanters; and in England of the Independents and fifth monarchy men. But even in more moderate hands they were open to manifest objections. To make each man the judge of whether he was bound to obey or not, clearly destroyed the foundation of all authority, nor was this remedied by declaring the law of God to be the test, since a law without a judge to apply it is useless. Gradually more learned secular writers arose, and sought to lay down sounder principles of government. As they had recourse to the old Catholic writers on law and justice, the deductive and applied part of their systems was generally sound; and Grotius and Burlamaqui are still grave authorities. But in seeking for a theory on which to found their doctrines, they were less fortunate. Most of them had recourse to the theory of the social contract;* that is that the power and right of government is

* The chief writers in favour of this theory are; in England Hooker and Locke: on the continent Puffendorf, Grotius and Zallinger.

derived from a voluntary agreement by which each of the governed gives up a portion of his liberty for the sake of the benefits arising from living in society, and voluntarily creates a power to which he promises to be obedient.

"The lawful power," says Hooker, "for making laws to command whole political societies belongeth so properly unto the same entire societies, that for any prince or potentate of what kind soever upon earth to exercise the same of himself, and not either by express commission, immediately and personally received from God, or else by authority received at first from their consent upon whose persons they impose laws, is no better than mere tyranny. Laws, they are not, therefore which public approbation hath not made so. But approbation not only they give who personally declare their assent by voice, sign or act; but also when others do it in their names by right originally, at least, derived from them."

Of course it followed that the breach of any one of the essential stipulations of this contract by the governing, justified resistance on the part of the governed. But the objections to this theory were many and obvious. In the first place, its advocates were called upon in vain to give a single instance in which such a contract had been made. Secondly, it was said each man could contract only for himself, and even if every one in the nation had at first entered into the agreement, they could not bind their children, and every subject, on attaining full age, might dissent from the contract, which would not then bind him.*

"We hear much from men who have not acquired their hardness of assertion from the profundity of their thinking, about the omnipotence of a Majority in such a dissolution of an ancient society as hath taken place in France. But amongst men so disbanded there can be no such thing as majority or minority; or power in any one person to bind another. The power of acting by a majority must be founded on two assumptions, first, that of an incorporation produced by unanimity; and secondly, an unanimous agreement, that the act of a mere majority (say of one) shall pass with them and with others as the act of the whole. If men dissolve their ancient corporation in order to regenerate their community, in that state of things each man has a right if he please, to remain an individual."

* This is well put by Edmund Burke, in his "Appeal from the new to the old Whigs."

Whilst the despotic doctrines of Filmer and his fellows had driven writers like Hooker and Locke to seek for more free theories of government even under the more moderate Government of England, the searching absolutism of Louis XIV. and his successors produced its natural antagonistic result in the French Revolution. Men suddenly escaped into freedom were guilty of the wildest excesses: and having begun by throwing off the bonds of a tyrannic government, they ended by flinging away every restraint of religion and society. It were a waste of time to enumerate or examine all the wild theories that then started into life, but one great doctrine then first arose, which, as it received the adhesion of many grave writers, and still continues to be accepted by great masses of men, requires mention. It is the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. It may be thus stated in its fullest development. That the sovereignty, whether exercised by one or many, did not only originate from the people, but that in the people the same sovereignty constantly and inalienably resides; that the people may lawfully depose kings, not only for misconduct, but without any misconduct at all; that they may set up any new form of government for themselves; or continue without any government at their pleasure; that the people are essentially their own rule, and their will the measure of their conduct; that the tenure of magistracy is not a proper subject of contract; because magistrates have duties but no rights; and that if a contract *de facto* is made with them in one age, allowing that it binds at all, it binds only those who are immediately concerned in it, but does not pass to posterity.* (Appeal from New to Old Whigs.) The objections to this theory are as manifest as those which may be made to the divine right of kings. First it was said, it is clearly subversive of all government, since the people may change their government every day. Secondly, there was the same objection as to the social contract, that each man had a full right

* This is clearly the doctrine of those who now advocate the rights of the Populations in Tuscany, the Romagna, Nice and Savoy to change their government: and those Americans who maintain the right of an individual state to secede from the Union whenever it wishes.

to dissent from his fellows, and that therefore there might be as many governments as individuals; but the gravest objection of all was, that, as all Christian men must acknowledge, that obedience to just laws and fulfilment of the obligations of society is a duty, neither the few nor the many have a right to act merely by their own will in any matter connected with duty, trust, engagement or obligation.

Thus briefly have we sketched the various theories of government which have arisen in Europe during the last two centuries; and which ferment in society, and influence more or less unconsciously men's ideas and judgments. As is the case in other matters, most men content themselves with general impressions, or what they call principles, without too minutely analysing their own ideas, and hence the controversies on the subject frequently travel in parallel lines; because neither party comes to the root of the matter. One set of writers are great in enforcing the duty of obedience, the divine sanction of government, and the subversive and levelling nature of the opposite theories, and now in Europe content themselves with vaguely denouncing "the Revolution;" whilst another class eloquently enlarge on the evils of tyranny, the rights of subjects, the greatness of freedom, and the inconsistencies of the theories of the divine right of particular forms of government.

And what, it may be asked, have Catholic writers been doing? The great doctors of old have laid down the principles which are the foundation of all knowledge on the subject; but most later writers have been occupied chiefly in refuting the exaggerations and errors of the different parties; and are thus frequently claimed as partizans by one side or the other, because employed in refuting the errors of their opponents. Suarez and Bellarmine refuted almost beforehand the follies of Filmer and the courtly writers of France under Louis XIV. whilst De Maistre and others of his school have been chiefly employed in overturning the insane theories of the advocates of the so-called "rights of man;" and all have shrunk from unnecessarily applying the principle of government to those extreme cases which are the practice of revolutions, or investigating the duties of men in those cases of social convulsion of which it is their first duty to pray that they may not occur at all.

In our days however, such cases are frequently occurring : and erroneous theories regarding them are so constantly discussed, that it can do no harm, but rather good to investigate the matter to the bottom, and endeavour to elucidate on sound principles even the difficult and intricate question of the lawfulness of resistance.

The first principle from which Catholics start is that society was instituted by God to enable men to live justly and in accordance with the divine law, and to merit heaven.* From the days of Adam, God has ordained that man should not live alone, but in society ; conforming himself to the obligations by which he might practice the precept of loving his neighbour.† This society was manifold, first, of the single family ; secondly, of several branches of one family under one head ; thirdly, of many families in one tribe ; finally of the whole nation ; but none of these associations were purely voluntary, they were all decreed and obligatory, bringing with them their duties and their rights.‡ As God had ordained society in these various forms, so He had ordained the existence in each of that controlling authority without which it could not exist, but would be dissolved into its primitive elements. In the first, parental authority ; in the second the authority of the one head ; and under him of each head of a family ; for the third, that of the heads of the tribe ; finally for each nation, the authority of its lawful governors, whoever they be.

The divinely constituted power of the three first will not be disputed ; the equally divine right of the last may easily be proved. "By me, saith the Lord, do kings reign." "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God ; the powers that be are ordained of God." (Rom. xiii.) But thus early it is well to remark that while there can be no doubt as to the divinely constituted nature of that authority, the seat in which it resides is by no means thus divinely and clearly pointed out ; nay, it is evident that from the first, the nature of that seat was immaterial. In

* St. Thomas Aquinas De Reginime Principum lib. 1. cap 14.

† Domat Traité des loix c. 3. and 4.

‡ Burke, Appeal from new to old Whigs, p. 521. and Domat ap Bowyer, International Law, p. 209.

the case of the Jewish people God first vested the power in Moses, yet not as a king ; next in Josue ; next in the Judges ; later, at the ill-advised request of the people, in a king ; but the authority when vested in each of these various depositaries was the same, and the obligation of obedience as clear in the case of a Roboam as of a Solomon. This is well pointed out by St. John Chrysostom, in his Twenty-third Homily on the Epistle to the Romans quoted above.

"There is no power but of God. How sayest thou ? Is therefore every prince constituted by God ? I say not so. For I speak not of any prince ; but of the thing itself ; that is the power. That there exists kingship, and that all things are not left to chance, I call a work of divine wisdom. Wherefore he saith not : 'there is no prince but of God' : but speaking of the thing itself he saith, 'there is no power but of God.'"

What then is this authority, and what are its essential qualities ?*

"As amongst many men living in society, says St. Thomas, each would seek his own interest ; and the multitude would be dispersed, were there not some one who had a care for the good of the community ; as Solomon saith 'when there is no ruler the people shall be scattered,' therefore in all communities there must be some ruling power." Its first essential quality, without which it would not be authority, is "sovereignty ; that is to say civil power with the quality of Supremacy ; so that its acts can be annulled by no other human will." (Bowyer, Com. on pub. law, p. 211).

From this flows the power of making laws and enforcing them. As Clinch well puts it ; "Law is the solemn evident expression of the will of the state, commanding or forbidding, and assuming common force to this purpose." (Tracts, part ii. p. 42.)

From the right to enforce the laws it makes follows the right to punish those who infringe them. "For he beareth not the sword in vain ; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil." (Rom. xiii.) But the assertion that the sovereign authority has the power to make laws and to enforce them, leads at once to the question, what are the essential qualities of a law ? "A law," says St. Thomas, "is a certain

* That authority is necessary St. Thomas well points out, De Reg. P. lib. 1. c. 1.—quoted above.

ordinance of reason for the good of the community, promulgated by him who has the care of the community." (l. 2, Quæst. 99, art. 4.)

Justice then is an essential quality of laws, without which, as St. Thomas says, the decrees of power are not laws, but violences.* As however, the authority of the state is supreme, in the sense that there is no earthly power to which a direct appeal lies; it is important to consider what amount of injustice renders a law, so to speak, no law, and justifies disobedience. We speak now of disobedience to a law, not of resistance to authority. It is clear that when the commands of the sovereign authority are contrary to the law of God, they are simply null and void, and must be disobeyed. It is equally clear that when they are in unison with the law of God and of nature they are obligatory on the conscience.† It is also clear that in indifferent matters when the justice is doubtful the supreme authority must be held to be in the right and be obeyed; and that it is not a doubt whether a law tends to the common good that will justify its infringement, but that all expressions of the sovereign will not manifestly unjust are to be obeyed. Neither does the promulgation of one or more unjust laws deprive the sovereign power of its quality of authority. In short, while it is difficult to draw the exact line between a naked tyranny, and an authority which acts indeed unjustly in some things yet does not forfeit its nature of authority; it may be said that as long as the sovereign power protects life and property on conditions not contrary to the law of God, it may be looked on as authority and not mere tyranny.

From the preceding it will be clearly seen that the form of this authority is not material: it may, consistently

* "Injustæ autem sunt leges dupliciter: uno modo per contrarietatem ad bonum commune, & contrario prædictis: vel ex fine; sicut cum aliquis præsidens leges imponit onerosas subditis, non pertinentes ad utilitatem communem, sed magis ad propriam cupiditatem vel gloriam et hujusmodi magis sunt violentiæ quam leges." (l. i, Quæst. 96, art. 4.)

† Si quidem justæ sunt, habent vim obligandi in foro conscientiæ, a lege æterna a qua derivantur secundum illud proverbiorum capite octavo: per me reges regnant, et legum conditores justa decernunt. (Quæst. 96 art. 3.)

with its essence, reside in one, or in many ; may be immutable or changeable ; that its essence is one and unchangeable, its right indefeasible, and of divine origin ; its seat manifold, and of uncertain origin.*

Whilst however we allow that the origin of this power cannot be determined with absolute certainty, it is not doubtful that most Catholic writers of weight consider it to be derived in one way or another from the consent of the people. A very few quotations will make this clear.

"It is to be observed," says Cardinal Bellarmine, "that this power resides immediately as its subject, in the whole multitude ; for this power is of divine law. But the divine law gave not this power to any particular man, therefore it gave it to the multitude of men ; besides except, by positive law, there is no reason why amongst many equals one should rule, rather than another ; therefore the power belongs to the multitude."—Bellar : *de Laicis*, lib. 3. cap. 6.

"Thirdly it is to be observed that this power is by the multitude transferred to one or more by the same law of nature ; for the whole state cannot exercise it by itself, therefore is it obliged to transfer it to one or few ; and in this way the power of rulers considered in the abstract is of natural law ; nor could mankind even though all united, decree the contrary, namely, that there should be no princes or rulers. Fourthly observe, that the different sorts of government are of human law, not of the natural law ; for it depends on the consent of the multitude to appoint over itself a King, or Consuls, or other magistrates, as is manifest ; and for a legitimate cause the multitude may change a kingdom into an Aristocracy or Democracy, or the reverse, as we read was done at Rome." (Ibid.)

"It follows," says Suarez, "from the preceding, that the civil power when it is found in one man, or Prince, must by legitimate

* In qua Rex serenissimus (James 1st. of England) non solum novo et singulari modo opinatur, sed acriter invehitur in Cardinalem Bellarminum, eo quod asseruit non regibus auctoritatem a Deo immediate esse concessam. Aserit ergo ipse, Regem non a populo sed immediate a Deo suam potestatem habere. Sed quamquam controversia haec ad fidei dogmata directe non pertineat (nihil enim ex divina scriptura, aut patrum traditione in illa definitione ostendi potest) nihilominus diligenter tractanda et explicanda est : tum quia predicta regis sententia prout ab ipso asseritur, et intenditur nova et singularis est : tum denique quia sententiam illustrissimi Bellarmini antiquam *receptam veram ac necessariam esse censemus*.—Suarez, *Def. Fid. Cath.* lib. 3.

and ordinary right, have emanated from the people and community either proximately or remotely, and cannot be otherwise to be just." (De Legibus, lib. i. c. 4.)

The same is proved by St. Thomas, De Legibus, St. Augustine, de Civitate Dei, and almost all other Catholic writers.*

So also in almost all old forms for the consecration of kings we find mention of the consent of the people. Thus the "Ordo ad benedicendum regem Francorum," published by Martene, which was copied from an Anglo-Saxon ordo, we read "Quem in hujus regni regem pariter eligimus." (Lingard, Anglo-Saxon Church, vol. 2, p. 368). Thus the consent of the Witan was always necessary to the coronation of a king, (Lingard, Hist. Eng. vol. 1, p. 388) and as has been mentioned before, the consent of the people was asked even at the coronation of William the Conqueror.

This doctrine, although no doubt true in theory, presents this practical difficulty ; that a doubt will often arise, where the will of the people has invested this authority : nay most frequently this will has not been clearly expressed. If however we take this teaching of the great lights of Catholicity in connexion with what they also teach ; that all existing and permanent authorities are to be respected and obeyed, unless a clear case against their validity can be shewn ; in other words that the presumption is always in favour of the authority of existing power ; we deduce the practical conclusion that all stable governments, not manifestly unjust, may be taken to have the necessary sanction ; and their authority be classed amongst those "that are ordained of God." That such is the Christian's rule ; and that ill acquired power, even when exercised with partial injustice, is in the first instance to be obeyed, is clear from the fact that the powers to which St. Paul directed the first Christians to be obedient, were the usurping Roman Emperors who persecuted the Christian Religion.

"Whatever," says Clinch, "has established itself over men with the control of common force, whether this establishment be of time, of opportunity, of cunning, of conquest, of compact, of fraud, or of all these means, or any of them combined, is the State government."

* See Balmes, Catholicism compared, chap. 49 et seq.

He adds, "Law is the solemn evident expression of the will of the State commanding or forbidding, and assuming common force to this purpose," and gives the reason why it is to be obeyed, "Because it is always a crime to weaken the only present protection of the good, which is the State." "So long as the State represents the outlines of justice, that is to say, as long as it abides by any general rule of protecting life, on conditions not repugnant to natural law, the subject is bound in consideration of the common welfare, not only to obey every protecting law, but to remain faithful in every respect, and submissive to the authority, even though it should iniquitously despoil him of life."*

We have said that the subject is *prima facie* bound to obey an existing government. The limits of this obligation constitute the difficult and intricate question of "Resistance."

There is perhaps scarcely a subject in politics or morals on which the statements have been so partial and one-sided. Each side have said what was true; but not the whole truth. One side have heaped up texts and denunciations against rebellion, and revolution; the other against tyranny and oppression; each has ignored what was just in the case of their adversaries. We shall endeavour, if we cannot hope to exhaust the question, at least to clear up the main principles on which the solution must depend. As in all moral cases, however, the application of abstract principles to individual cases will still remain an open question.

Resistance to a government to be lawful must be justified by one of two defects in the government. The badness of its origin; or the injustice of its rule. These two distinct grounds of resistance are distinctly laid down by most great Catholic writers. St. Thomas says in answer to the question "Utrum seditio sit semper peccatum mortale? Laudantur qui multitudinem a potestate tyrannica liberant; sed hoc non de facili potest fieri sine aliqua dissensione multitudinis, ergo seditio potest fieri sine peccato." (Quæst. 42 art. 2.)

Cardinal Cajetan commenting on this text says,

* The State of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland professing the Catholic Religion, by J. B. Clinch, part 2 p. 42.

This was precisely the case of the first Christians under the persecuting Emperors; and the English Catholics under the penal laws.

“ What is the lawful mode of overthrowing a tyrant ? and what sort of tyrant, namely one a tyrant *only in his rule* or one a tyrant both in his rule and his title, is not the present question : it is enough for the present, that both sort of tyrant may sometimes be lawfully overthrown without sedition : the one that he may be made to seek the good of the State ; the other that he may be expelled.”

Suarez says, “ I say, in the second place, that a war of the State (Republicæ) against the Prince, even when aggressive, is not intrinsically bad, but it should have the conditions of other just wars to be lawful. This applies only where the prince is a tyrant ; which may occur in two ways ; first if he be a tyrant as to his authority and power (dominium et potestatem) : second if he be a tyrant only as to his rule.” (De Bello, sec 8.)

The badness of origin in a government justifies resistance to it ; but only whilst it is recent. The Tyrant and Usurper not only may lawfully, but must be resisted : but his descendant, who has received an authority peacefully transmitted through many generations may not be attacked because that authority was originally usurped. William the Conqueror was a usurper ; but that fact would be a bad justification of rebellion against Henry the 6th. of England. In a word Prescription is a valid title to authority ; but the difficulty is in defining where exactly a valid prescription begins. Tapparelli (*Saggio di Diritto naturale*, cap. 5 art. 67-8) investigates the question at considerable length ; and well proves that prescription legitimates an usurping government ; and he fixes the moment at which such prescription becomes valid to be that at which a return to the former order of things has become morally impossible. We may however with advantage examine the question a little more closely.

It is clear that as long as the antecedent government which the usurping revolution upsets and supersedes, exists at all, the intruding power may be resisted ; the former prescription still exists. It is equally clear, that when firmly established, and all trace of the antecedent government has vanished and become a tradition of the past, the existing government cannot be impeached for the badness of its origin.* In all the intermediate stages,

* We are now speaking of resistance on the sole ground of bad origin : other grounds may of course justify resistance to a government ever so long established.

nice shades will distinguish the peculiarities of each case; and it may not unfrequently occur that two conflicting governments may have equal, or apparently equal claims to a valid title; and good and conscientious men starting from the same premisses may arrive at opposite conclusions, and be found arrayed against each other. Yet a few landmarks may be observed to guide our judgment.

Whilst the old government retains any portion of the kingdom in dispute, however small; nay, whilst it materially keeps up its claim, by protests, backed by force of an army or alliances, the prescription of its opponent cannot be said to be established. Nay more, it may be doubted whether the prescription can be said to be established as long as there is a continuous living protest by any body of men against it.

Thus to trace the growth of the prescription in an historic case. The Revolution of 1688 was clearly a usurpation and lawfully resisted,* whilst James held any portion of his kingdom and retained his army, and whilst he retained his court and army at St Germains, and was in alliance with the French King. Then till after the peace of Ryswick his counter-prescription was manifestly valid. Even as long as he or his son actively protested against the Hanoverian Government, and that protest was backed by the support of a considerable portion of the English people, that Government could not show an unblemished title of prescription. This protest waned weaker and weaker, in 1715, 1745, 1775, until it became extinct at the close of the century. And, whilst the rising against James in 1688 was an invasion and a rebellion, a revolt against his Hanoverian successor on the throne in 1788, would have equally been a rebellion. The same is the case in almost every country.† Hugh Capet was an usurper, but that fact would not invalidate the Government of Louis XIV. Those who set little value on the alleged election by universal suffrage of Louis Napoleon would not bring forward the irregularity of that elec-

* We mean of course by those who held that the government of James was not so radically bad as to justify resistance to it on that ground.

† The Papal government is a remarkable exception, it can shew an authority validly acquired and a prescription of 1100 years.

tion against his grandson, should three generations of Napoleons peaceably succeed each other.

One great element in determining how far the prescription of a government whose origin is faulty has become valid, is, how far is it national? That is; how far has it been accepted and ratified by the nation. Perfect acceptance and ratification by the whole nation would probably render a Government legitimate in a day; as was the case with the Constitution of the United States; a foreign usurping Government will ever have the tacit enduring protest of the nation against it. Thus the Government established by William III. was English, though the King was a foreigner, and was therefore comparatively soon accepted by the bulk of the nation. The foreign Governments which have crushed Poland are wholly foreign and despotic, their existence depends on the negation of the idea of Poland as a nation; and therefore its existence is an abiding valid protest against their legitimacy; they can never acquire a title till the Polish population becomes absorbed in the other nationalities.

From these considerations we perceive how difficult it is for despotic or absolute Governments, whose origin has been faulty, to establish a valid prescription. Their existence is independent of the people, and the latter are not consulted in their creation. Hence it is difficult to ascertain that they are accepted by the governed, whose acceptance would indeed cure the defect of their origin, but whose discontent would be an abiding valid protest against their prescription. We do not say that it is impossible to establish a valid acceptance and prescription, but only that it is difficult. Alexander is the legitimate Governor of Russia irrespective of the origin of the Romanoff dynasty. But the United States of America had established in five years a prescription which fifty would not give to the Government of the First Napoleon.

The second ground of resistance to a government is its injustice. The quotations we have already given from St. Thomas and Cajetan and Suarez are sufficient to demonstrate that in extreme cases injustice in the governor justifies resistance in the governed. This is also shown by the fact that in all decrees of deposition pronounced by Popes, the violation of the laws of God and of justice

by the deposed sovereign is laid down as one of the causes of his deposition.*

The question, however, of the limits within which, and the circumstances under which resistance to an existing government is lawful, is one so intricate, so full of difficulties and depending so much for its solution on the individual circumstances of each case, that we shall find most writers abstain from entering into much detail upon the subject. It is however one which, in the present state of public opinion, and the agitation which prevails respecting all government, must be boldly met and frankly investigated. Nor shall we find it difficult to discover principles sufficiently clearly laid down by the great writers we have quoted to guide our investigations.

Resistance is twofold. Negative, or non-obedience to the commands of the governor; positive, or actual efforts to remove or control him.

Negative resistance, it is clearly laid down by all authorities, is lawful with regard to all unjust laws. St. Augustine says, "Lex esse non videtur quæ justa non sit; unde tales leges in foro conscientiæ non obligant, nisi forte propter vitandum scandalum vel turbationem." "That seemeth not to be a law, which is unjust; hence such laws bind not the conscience, unless perchance for the avoiding of scandal or troubles." (De lib. arb. cap. 5.) St. Thomas, "injustæ autem sunt leges dupliciter; uno modo per contrarietatem ad bonum commune—et hujus-

* Some Catholic writers indeed say that no amount of injustice in a legitimate government will justify resistance in its subjects; but this is contrary to the opinion of St. Thomas, Suarez, Cajetan, &c; and these writers so limit the proposition as greatly to weaken its force; and reduce it to a statement that where the governor violates no fundamental law no individual subject, as such, has a right to resist. Thus Tapparelli, who maintains that the *sovereign power* can never be resisted, points out that in Constitutional, and semi-Constitutional governments, that sovereign power resides, not in the king, but jointly in all the bodies which share in any way in government: and also maintains that even from absolute governments, as there was in former ages in the sacred Roman Empire an appeal to the aulic chamber; so there is now to "Modern Diplomacy," in conferences and protocols. (According to this strange doctrine the appeal of Count Cavour to the conference of Paris was justifiable!) Saggio di diritto. art. 1034.

modi magis sunt violentiae quam leges." "Laws are unjust in a twofold manner; firstly, when they are adverse to the common weal—and such are rather violences than laws." (Quæst. 96. art. 4.)

With regard to positive resistance it is clearly ascertained that no individual, as such, has the right of resisting a lawful government; nor will injustice or tyranny on the part of the governor, even to many individuals, constitute a lawful ground of resistance.

Before we examine further the limits of such resistance it may be well to give in extenso two passages from Suarez and Mariana which contain almost all that can be said on this subject.

Suarez says, "I say, in the second place, that a war of the state against the ruler (*Reipublicæ contra Principem*) although an aggressive war, is not intrinsically evil, but it must have the conditions of other just wars to be lawful. This rule applies only when the ruler is a tyrant, which occurreth two ways, as Cajetan remarks. First, if he be a tyrant, as to his authority and power. Secondly, if only as to his rule." He then investigates the first, and after proving that he may be resisted by any individual, continues :

"Of the latter species of tyrant, John Huss taught the same; nay even of every unjust superior; which was condemned in the Council of Constance, Sess. 8 and 15. Hence it is a certain truth, that against such a tyrant, no private person or imperfect authority can justly make an aggressive war, and that such were a real sedition. But the whole body of the State may rise in war against such a tyrant, nor would that be a sedition, (for this name is always used in ill sense). The reason is, because then the whole State is superior to the king; since, as the State gave him the power, it must be held to have given it to him on condition, that he govern legitimately, not tyrannically, otherwise he may by the State be deposed. It is however to be observed that it is necessary that he really and manifestly act tyrannically, and that the other conditions be observed which we have laid down for the lawfulness of a war." (Disp. De Bello, sec. 8.)

Mariana, after stating as Suarez, that all may resist a usurper, continues :

"If the prince hold the government by the consent of the people or by hereditary right, his vices and excesses are to be borne as long as he neglect only the laws of decency and modesty which are binding on himself; for rulers are not lightly to be changed,

lest great evils be incurred, and serious disturbances arise. If, however, he bring the state to destruction, make a spoil of public and private property, despise the public laws and sacred religion; it is not to be borne. It must be carefully considered what mode should be taken to depose such a prince, lest evil be added to evil, and crime be avenged by crime. The readiest and safest way is, if it be possible, to hold public assemblies, to deliberate by common consent what should be done, and to hold for fixed and sanctioned what the public voice may determine. If he refuse the medicine, and no hope of cure be left, the state may first pronounce its sentence depriving him of the government, and since war will necessarily follow, may devise means of sustaining it, acquire arms, impose taxes on the people for the expenses of war, and if affairs come to that pass, that the state may not otherwise secure itself; it may by its right of defence and true superior authority, deprive of life the prince who has been declared a public enemy. Thus the open question is one of fact, who may justly be esteemed a tyrant; the law is clear that a tyrant may be slain."—*De Re Lib.* 1, cap. 6.

He also points out in his eighth chapter, that resistance may well and lawfully be founded on old fundamental laws; as in Castile and Arragon, where the king could not impose taxes, and might be opposed even by force, if he attempted to do so; and as the American colonies in 1775 founded their resistance on the fundamental law of England, that men should not be taxed without their consent.

Little can be added to these extracts. From them it appears,

First, that the violation of the fundamental laws of the kingdom will justify resistance to a monarch whose power is limited by these laws.

Second, that even where his power is unlimited, injustice on his part will justify resistance; but that this injustice must be radical and quasi universal, a tyranny violating the laws of God and man, and affecting the whole people.

Third, that this right of resistance exists in the whole people, not in individuals; not of course meaning that every individual must concur, but only that it must be the act of the body.

Fourth, that the possibility of a successful resistance and the substitution of another and better government on a solid basis is a main element in the question of the lawfulness of attempting the destruction of an existing government.

Mariana, and after him Balmez (*Catholicity and Protestantism Compared*, vol. iv.) well point out the immense advantage arising from the recognition of ancient fundamental laws and civil and municipal rights which arose in the early Catholic ages of Europe, and which serve as landmarks to check the encroachments of the central power, and to mark its excesses, and also, from the existence of corporate bodies and orders of men whose action in resisting an unjust authority is at once stamped with that character of deliberation and unison which is necessary to give it legitimacy. Balmez also well points out that there was not in Catholic Europe in the middle ages such a thing as an absolute monarchy, unbounded by any laws; and that, as in Spain and other countries, the rights and privileges of the people, and the obligations of the Sovereign were well known and acknowledged, the former were clearly justified in maintaining those rights against the encroachments of their sovereigns, and he instances the conduct of those of Leon, Castile, and Gallicia. If, since that period, absolute monarchies have arisen in Europe, they are still bound by the laws of God and of natural justice, and by such fundamental laws as have been established in each country.

We have thus far investigated the grounds of resistance to authority theoretically, under each of the two heads—bad origin, and injustice of government, or, to use Suarez's words, *tyranny quoad dominium* and *tyranny quoad regimen*. Practically however these two questions are constantly intermingled and connected, especially by the question of fundamental laws. There is hardly a government in Europe perfectly legitimate, and absolutely unfettered by any fundamental laws. There are few countries, to the government of which there are not two claimants. There is hardly a king who has not sworn to observe some constitution, or guarantee some rights to his subjects.

Each case then of resistance to any existing government, however usurping or unjust, must remain an individual case of conscience to be decided on its own merits: the broad fact being clear, that revolt and revolution are as rarely justifiable, as they are almost invariably unhappy in their results.

Almost all the solid freedom which exists in Europe, has been the result of patient, persevering, but peaceful

struggles with existing governments; sweeping revolutions have rarely established a permanent free government; and the wisest and best of those who have resisted existing tyrannies, have always sought to fall back on antecedent government, and acknowledged principles to be found in the constitution of their country; and thus avoid that state of chaos which results, as in the first French Revolution, from the total destruction of all existing government. In weighing the merits of each case of resistance, we perceive, from what has been stated, that the question of its probable success is a main element in judging of its lawfulness, not that success justifies a bad cause: but that none are justified in exposing a nation to the perils of a revolution, and the destruction of existing authority unless they can calculate on being able to substitute a better.

Time was when Catholic Europe acknowledged in the Pope one supreme judge of such cases; when nations could appeal to him to decide that the tyranny of their rulers was unbearable; as each man now must in similar cases decide in his own conscience, under the direction of the best confessor he can find. And even in a human point of view, such a tribunal of appeal was of immense advantage: the weight of a pontiff's censure was such, that not unfrequently tyrants humbled themselves before it: and if the people were compelled to open resistance, they were united, authorised and fortified by such a decision, in a way not otherwise attainable.

Now men, in the most weighty questions of public morals are all at sea: and the old landmarks and fixed principles are forgotten: we have endeavoured in this brief sketch, to bring before the Catholics of these countries the opinions of the great teachers of old; leaving the application to their own judgment.

As we stated in the commencement, we have investigated the question of government and resistance, without any reference to the Papal government. Our own opinion however as to the application of principles to it cannot be doubted.

1st. Its origin is acknowledged on all hands to have been legitimate.

2nd. It cannot, as our readers well know, be shown that the Pope has 1st. Violated any fundamental law of the kingdom; or 2nd. Been guilty of universal radical injus-

tice, such as would justify resistance by the body of his subjects.

3. Neither of the above defects, even if they existed, would justify a foreign invasion of his states.

ART. VIII.—*Memoirs of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, who suffered Death for the Catholic Faith in the year 1681.* Compiled from Original Documents by the Rev. Francis Patrick Moran, D.D., Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome. Dublin: James Duffy. 1861.

IT is not too much to say that these Memoirs of Oliver Plunket have proved an agreeable surprise even to those who are most familiar with the history of the Irish Church in the seventeenth century. The period to which they refer has heretofore been regarded as almost a complete blank, in which the chain of events was entirely lost. Dr. Moran has happily recovered most of the missing links, and his present volume has substantially restored the continuity of the history.

It is true that the ten years immediately preceding—from 1640 to 1650—have left some trace in our historical literature, although the works of that time are, almost without an exception, so directly and avowedly partisan in their character as to require to be read with the utmost caution. Some of the writers, as for example Borlase, are fiercely anti-Irish; others follow almost with equally vehement partisanship, one or other of the various parties into which the Irish politics of the time were divided. Thus Carte is an unvarying apologist of Ormond. Belling, although a Catholic and an adherent of the Supreme Council, is quite as devoted to the interest of the Ormondist. Ponce is even more violent on the side of those who adhered to the nuncio Rinuccini. The nuncio himself, especially in his later correspondence, is a thorough partisan; and Father Peter Walsh, in that portion of his *History of the Remonstrance* which regards the Confederation, may be said to surpass them all in the coarse and sweeping cha-

racter of his denunciations of all whose views chance to differ from his own. But, with all their defects, the publications of that date, although perhaps no single one can be taken as a guide, supply a mass of facts from which at least to build up the skeleton of the history.

But at this point all light disappears. From the date of the triumph of the parliamentary arms in Ireland all is void; nor in truth was it possible that it should have been otherwise. All those who could have chronicled the ecclesiastical occurrences of that terrible time had been cut off or driven into exile. The bishops of Ross, of Emly, and of Clogher, had fallen victims to their patriotism and their constancy in the profession of their faith. The rest had been forced into concealment or into exile. One prelate, who in happier circumstances, might have been a most accomplished historian of his time, and to whom even now we owe the most valuable of the few relics which have been preserved,—Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns,—was a wanderer, poor, and borne down with age and infirmity, in the Low Countries. His brethren, for the most part, had taken refuge in the same kingdom, watching an opportunity of returning to their flocks. Some of them had chosen France, Spain, or other more distant countries as their retreat; but with the exception of two or three who escaped the fury of the persecution solely through their obscurity, it may be said that the entire episcopate of Ireland was driven from the country during the dark and unhappy period which followed the Cromwellian occupation.

Even the most zealous and sanguine, therefore, of our antiquarians had hitherto looked upon the gap which exists in the annals of the Irish Church during the latter half of the seventeenth century as utterly irreparable. We recollect that, when it was announced,* several years since, that a large collection of papers from the Roman archives relating to Ireland, had been made by the learned oratorian, Father Theiner, it was considered a matter of the deepest interest, that among these papers were found two letters of the martyr-primate Oliver Plunket. Now these letters had but little value for the general history, being written from the prison of Newgate; and were chiefly

* See *Supra*, Vol. xviii. pp. 215 and following.

notable as illustrating the personal character of the writer. Nor was there in the vast mass of papers anterior to the date of the arrest of the Primate, anything which could be really regarded as supplying materials for a connected record of the interval between that event and the death of Charles II.

It is with no ordinary gratification, therefore, that we welcome a body of materials, so large, so important, so entirely new, and so completely beyond expectation, as those contained in Dr. Moran's volume. In the article referred to above, an opinion was very strongly expressed that whatever could be recovered of the history of our country since the Reformation, was to be looked for mainly at Rome, partly in the pontifical archives, partly in the private collections of those families—as the Barberini, the Chigi, and others—the members of which, from their official position either in the congregation of the Propaganda or in the nunciatures of France, of Spain, and above all, of the Low Countries, held such relations from time to time, with the Irish Church, as might lead to any expectation, however slight, that they could have been the depositaries of correspondence, of reports, or of other papers bearing upon the affairs of Ireland. But not even the most hopeful could have anticipated any result half so favourable as the reality which this Memoir of Oliver Plunket presents. It is, from the beginning to the end founded, upon original and authentic documents; all the details of the early studies of Dr. Plunket and of his residence in Rome, are filled up from authentic records with almost circumstantial minuteness; and the period of his episcopate and especially of his missionary life in Ireland is written exclusively from his own or contemporary letters, and from other records, derived, with hardly an exception, from the archives and libraries of Rome. Scarcely a month of Dr. Plunket's episcopate in Ireland passes without a letter to some of his Roman friends; on many occasions, his correspondence is still more frequent; and these letters are often accompanied by reports and statements which are of the utmost value as illustrating the condition of the country. Even for the blank and dreary period of which we have been speaking—the first years of the Cromwellian occupation—Dr. Moran has done far more than could have been anticipated. He has gathered together into a most interesting Introduction every scrap of information deriv-

able from the rare and fragmentary publications of the time ; and he has supplemented these by original papers of the deepest interest and of the greatest value—by letters, by narratives, by statements of eye-witnesses, sometimes by the reports of the sufferers, and sometimes even by those of the persecutors themselves.

In a word, Dr. Moran's Memoir of Oliver Plunket has thrown upon what was hitherto one of the darkest periods of the history of our Church a light hardly less distinct than that which we possess upon those for which the opportunities of information have heretofore been reputed the most abundant. It can hardly be said, indeed, that it is as yet perfectly continuous. There are yet some scattered intervals regarding which the same darkness still subsists. But these intervals are comparatively few and unimportant ; and even the gloom in which they remain borrows a certain degree of illumination from the light by which they have been surrounded from every quarter.

In congratulating themselves on the new and unexpected success of these explorations in a period of such obscurity, our readers will naturally be inclined to consider that the restoration of this portion of our history is but a prelude to the same or similar success in all the rest : that the same source which has been found thus prolific as to the seventeenth century, will supply, in equal abundance, the materials for the history of the sixteenth, and of the early part of the eighteenth, both of which have been involved, although perhaps in a lesser degree, in the obscurity which has been so long deplored. It is not unnatural to infer that, if the archives of Rome have, in one instance, and that so seemingly unhopeful, yielded so abundant fruit to the research of a skilful and persevering inquirer, the same may be looked for in each successive investigation until the entire scheme of our history shall have been satisfactorily reconstructed.

We could wish, indeed, that this inference were as well founded in fact as it is natural, and at first sight reasonable. But unhappily it will be found on reflection that the period in question is, in a great degree, if not altogether, exceptional. The abundance and variety of the materials which have remained from the age of Oliver Plunket, arise from purely personal circumstances and are to be ascribed altogether to the peculiar relations, as well personal as official, which subsisted between him and the

Roman authorities of his time. Probably there is not a single prelate in the entire series, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, with the exception, perhaps, of Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, (whose case presents many points of resemblance to that of Dr. Plunket) who maintained the same amount of communication with Rome as Oliver Plunket, or whose correspondence with Rome furnishes the same detailed and circumstantial information as to the men, the measures, and the events of his time in Ireland. It will be seen, from the circumstances of Dr. Plunket's early career, that his connexion with Rome, even upon purely personal grounds, was of the closest and most familiar kind; that his communications from Ireland were most full and most unreserved; that his correspondence with many of the public personages whom he addresses were much more the outspoken letters of a friend to a friend, than the formal and carefully studied reports of a diplomatist to a superior or a brother official; and that many of his letters partake more of the character of the well-known "news-letters" of the same date in English history, than of the ordinary official reports of an apostolic missionary, or of the *Relatio Status* of a bishop rendering an account of his diocese. The extensive charge of supervision, moreover, which fell to the lot of Dr. Plunket, has rendered his letters a picture of the state of almost the entire of his native country, and even of the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, or at least of the Highlands and Western Isles.

We regret to add, as the result of personal inquiry, that this contrast is but too painfully observable in the contents of the Roman archives. Side by side with the well-furnished shelves of the Plunket period, we meet whole years of melancholy and hopeless vacancy,—not a letter, not a paper, not a single scrap from which even the most ingenuous historian could construct a narrative; and although there are still other sources to which we may hereafter allude, and which will tend to supply the want thus painfully observable, we fear it must be confessed that, for a great part of our history the strictly public and official archives of Rome cannot be looked to as affording any substantive promise.

The peculiarly happy combination of circumstances which makes the case of Oliver Plunket a remarkable exception to those of his brother prelates, both of earlier

and of later times, will be best understood from Dr. Moran's interesting narrative of the early career of the future missionary and martyr. In a former article, (published several years ago, on occasion of the appearance of the Rev. Dr. Crolly's biography of Primate Plunket,) we briefly noticed the circumstances of his parentage and early education, as they are detailed by Dr. Crolly, who had gathered together with great industry and skill, in his most interesting Memoir, all the facts and papers at that time available for the subject of his biography. Many additional particulars, even of Dr. Plunket's early life, however, have been gleaned from his own letters, still preserved in Rome. In our present notice we shall confine ourselves chiefly to the new matter thus collected by Dr. Moran, referring our readers for the general outline of the biography to Dr. Crolly's Memoir, or to our own notice of that work.*

Among the new facts of Oliver Plunket's early life supplied by Dr. Moran, there is one which, even on independent grounds, is of considerable interest. The readers of this Journal may recollect some notice in an article on the Irish Nunciature of Rinuccini published in 1844,† of the mission to Ireland, preliminary to Rinuccini's, of a learned oratorian, Father Peter Francis Scarampo. It was in the train of this zealous priest that Oliver Plunket first repaired to Rome.

"In 1663, Father Peter Francis Scarampo was sent by the Holy See on a special mission to Ireland. He was a man filled with the spirit of God, and during his stay among them, heaven seemed to smile on the cause of the Irish Confederates, and to crown their efforts with success. In 1645, the Supreme Council petitioned the Holy Father to have a Nuncio to represent him in Ireland, after the manner of great Catholic kingdoms, and at the same time solicited him to confer this dignity on Father Scarampo; but the humble disciple of St Philip offered a most decided opposition to this project, in so much so, that Innocent X., when permitting him by a Brief of the 5th of May, 1645, to return to Rome, expressed regret that through the holy man's humility the Church in Ireland, and with it in a manner the universal Church, should be deprived of his eminent services.

"A few months later Father Scarampo, accompanied by five

* Supra vol. xxix. p. 161.

† Vol. xvi. p. 531.

youths, was seen hastening towards the Irish coast. A frigate was there awaiting him to bear him and his companions to Flanders, and the people flocked around him in thousands to receive for the last time the blessing of one whom they loved, and to pray in return that God would shower down his benedictions on the good Oratorian, and on the youthful Levites whom he was leading with him to the sanctuaries of Rome, there to drink in at the very source the pure streams of truth with which one day they might refresh their native land.

"One of these youths was the future martyr-Archbishop of Armagh, then in his sixteenth year. The holy Oratorian seems to have even then cherished a special affection for *Don Oliverio*, as he loved to style him—an affection increased with each succeeding year, which was faithfully responded to by Dr. Plunket.

"A journey from Ireland to Flanders was not without its dangers at this period. The narrow seas were covered with cruisers of the rival states, and pirates, also, continually infested the British Channel. The Nuncio Rinuccini, in the month of October of this very year (1645), when sailing from France to Ireland, had more than once with difficulty escaped from the pursuit of the Parliamentary squadron; and Father Scarampo with his young companions, now incurred like dangers when sailing from the Irish shores. Pursued for twenty-four hours, says his biographer, by two large vessels, they were more than once in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. On arriving in Flanders new perils awaited them. When travelling through the country they were seized by bandits, and it was only by the payment of a large sum of money that they obtained their liberation. But Providence having safely conducted them through these and many other trials, at length, before the close of the year 1645, they arrived in the Eternal City, and knelt together around the tombs of the Apostles."

—p. 4, 5.

Of the five youths referred to in the above extract, Oliver Plunket, with two others, entered the Irish or Ludovisiian College, (so named from the Cardinal Protector, Ludovisi, nephew of Gregory XV.) then recently established in Rome. Two of these, Plunket and Brennan, "were destined, as Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, to become pillars of the Irish Church in the days of her severest trials; whilst the third, Father Walsh, having completed his course of studies, entered the congregation of the oratory, and made first Perugia, and then Rome, the theatre of his missionary labours."

This was not, however, till the year after their arrival in Rome. For a time Oliver Plunket remained as a private student of rhetoric under Professor Dandoni. It was in

1646 that he was admitted "a student of the Irish College. There he applied himself with great diligence for eight years to the study of Mathematics, Philosophy, and Theology; subsequently he attended the lectures on Canon Law of the celebrated Jurisconsult Mariscotti, in the halls of the Roman University called the Sapienza."

In 1654 Plunket, having completed his studies, received the holy order of priesthood, but the state of Ireland at the time rendering it impossible for him to enter upon the mission, he asked permission to continue his studies in Rome till more favourable times. "The permission sought for was readily accorded, and for three years Dr. Plunket devoted himself altogether to study and the unostentatious exercise of the sacred ministry in the silent retreat of St. Girolamo. In 1657, however, his fame for theological learning being wide spread in Rome, he was appointed Professor in the College of Propaganda, where for twelve years he continued to lecture on Speculative, Controversial, and Moral Theology. He was at the same time Consultor of the Sacred Congregation of the Index, and of other Congregations."

The sojourn of Dr. Plunket in Rome falls in with the period of the greatest spiritual desolation of his native Church. At the close of the year 1668, there remained but two bishops resident in Ireland, Patrick Plunket, of Ardagh, and Owen McSweeny of Kilmore. Three others, the Archbishop of Armagh, and the Bishops of Kilfenora and Ferns, were living in exile. But from this date the prospect begins to brighten. In January 1669 four new bishops were named by the Propaganda, Peter Talbot of Dublin, William Burgatt of Cashel, James Lynch of Tuam, and Edmund Phelan of Ossory. On the nomination of these new prelates Oliver Plunket was at once named as their agent and representative in Rome; and one of Archbishop Talbot's first letters to him in this capacity, which Dr. Moran has preserved, is of remarkable historical importance. It will be recollect that no little controversy has subsisted as to the course which had been taken in Rome in relation to the censures issued in Ireland by the Nuncio Rinuccini. According to one account, these censures were repudiated at Rome, and the Nuncio himself was warmly upbraided by the Pope on his return in the remarkable words: *Temerariè te gessisti!* According to another view, the Holy See absolutely refused

to grant absolution from these censures. The truth, which lies between these extremes, has been brought to light by Dr. Moran. Archbishop Talbot writes to Dr. Plunket:

"Neither I nor my Province shall present any petition in the Roman Court, without giving intelligence to you and Dr. Brennan, and we hope that no attention will be paid to any one else. I say this, because I have heard that a memorial was presented to the Sacred Congregation, or to the Holy Father, soliciting the power to absolve those who incurred the censures of Rinuccini; this would occasion great disorder, as there is a rigorous edict of the king against all who would ask for such an absolution; and I believe it is not the desire of the Sacred Congregation that any noise should be made in this matter; it is well that we should have the power of absolving *in foro conscientiae* all such as have any scruples on this head, but it would be unwise to send any public document to that effect."—p. 22.

And again he writes to the Cardinal Secretary:

"I have received the letters of your Eminence dated 27th April, by which faculty is granted to absolve all who solicit absolution from the censures fulminated by Rinuccini. I embrace with due obedience and humility the paternal goodness of His Holiness; but it seems to me that the publication of such a faculty would be attended with great danger; as it was enacted by a law of the King and Parliament of Ireland, that any one asking to be absolved from the censures of Rinuccini should be incapable of acquiring goods or receiving any inheritance, and by far the greater number of the Catholics applaud this law; nor do I remember any one having had recourse for absolution from these censures, to those who formerly received a like faculty; for all, with one accord, attribute the ruin of our country to the divisions occasioned by these censures. Nor are they the ignorant alone who say this, but even the greater part of the clergy, secular and regular, warmly contend that the censures were invalid. Wherefore it surprises me how a petition to absolve from them could be presented to His Holiness in the name of the Catholic bishops of Ireland. I indeed deem it very proper that we should have power to absolve in the tribunal of penance all such as recur to us; but should this become known, the whole Hierarchy of Ireland would be exposed to great risk, and the Irish laity would be compelled to declare by public document that they never gave any commission to have such a request forwarded to His Holiness. Wherefore I think it expedient, and I stated so to his Excellency the Internunzio, that this faculty should be given by word of mouth to the Archbishops, but that the letters of your Eminence should in nowise be transmitted to Ireland, till such time as an answer

may be received to this difficulty, which with due submission I propose.

"PETER OF DUBLIN.

"Brussels, 15th May, 1669."

—p. 22-3.

Hence it is clear that neither on the one hand Father Peter Walsh, who holds* that the proceedings of the Nuncio were repudiated at Rome,† nor, on the other Columbanus, who alleges that the Pope refused to grant absolution from the excommunication issued by Rinuccini, has truly represented the facts of the case or the course adopted by Rome in relation to it. The result of Archbishop Talbot's representation was that the faculty of absolving from the censures, although granted and received, was not made public in Ireland.

A curious episode in Dr. Plunket's Roman career is the history of a most audacious attempt at imposture and forgery, of which little has hitherto been known. The author of this singular attempt was an Irish Franciscan, F. Taafe, one of the most violent of the adherents of Peter Walsh in the well-known affair of the Remonstrance. "The Taafe to whom reference is made in this letter is almost unknown in the published histories of this period ; and yet few events attracted more attention for many years, or threatened our Irish Church with such imminent danger, as the imposture which he devised, and to which we can scarcely find a parallel in the ecclesiastical annals of any country. To support the ruinous fabric of the Remonstrance, this companion of Peter Walsh forged a Bull from the Holy See, empowering him, though a simple friar, to act as Vicar Apostolic of all Ireland, and to depose, as he should think fit, the local Vicars and Bishops, and make many other arbitrary arrangements for the due reformation of the Irish Church ; all his plans, however, having for their chief object to discredit and depose whosoever had been opposed to the Remonstrance, and to place the ecclesiastical authority of the country in the hands of its favourers and abettors. So artful was the forgery, and so ingenious its author, that he procured the recognition and authentication of his Bull, not only

* History of Remonstrance, p. 16.

† De Burgo, (Hib. Dominicana, p. 690) relates the same anecdote, but doubts it.

from Ormond and the English Government, but even from Dr. Darcy, Bishop of Dromore, and Dr. Patrick Plunket, Bishop of Ardagh. The particulars of the confusion which ensued in many diocesses, and of the sums which were levied on various ecclesiastics, in virtue of this pretended authority, belong to the Life of Dr. Edmund O'Reilly, to whom we are chiefly indebted for having unmasked this iniquitous imposture."

A very interesting account of the proceedings of Taafe in Ireland, is derived by Dr. Moran from a letter addressed from Dublin to Dr. Plunket, by his relative Dr. Plunket, Bishop of Ardagh, and dated October 19th, 1668.

"I have received your letter, which was most gratifying to me and to all your friends, as well for the news concerning your health as for the information regarding the pretended Commission of Taafe, authenticated, as he pretended, by Cardinal Roberti, and by a public notary. Few or none dared to oppose his Commission in the commencement, through reverence for the Apostolic See, and F. Taafe made various copies, and sent Visitators with them throughout the whole kingdom, who for the most part were those who had signed the rash and scandalous formula of Peter Walsh. When I saw the Commissioners whom he employed, I commenced to doubt of the validity of the Commission, and I rejected it, as the whole kingdom knows, even before the letters came from Rome, and I made this known by a public deed; for when one of the Visitators of Taafe had excommunicated the Vicar-General of our Primate, the Archbishop of Armagh, I declared the excommunication null. This exceedingly annoyed Taafe, and in all his subsequent letters he declared me his enemy, which, indeed, affected me very little. When, thanks to divine Providence, the letters and orders of the Sacred Congregation written in the name of the Holy Father, came to me, I, laying aside all human respect for family or parentage, rigorously executed them, and presenting myself to Taafe in this city, exhorted him most pressingly to be obedient to the Holy See, it being a human fault to err, but a truly diabolical one to persevere in error. He, in the beginning, despised my exhortation, and with a fierce oath exclaimed that the Queen Mother, who had obtained for him this Commission from two Sovereign Pontiffs, would maintain him in spite of all his opponents; and he boasted that he would send me and all the clergy of Ireland into exile. I answered, that we were all ready to suffer in so just a cause, but that with God's aid he would not be able to prevail in any way against us. Taafe, afterwards, reflecting on matters, thought better to write to me, declaring that he would submit to the commands of the Holy See, and of the Sacred Congregation, as I announce to his Eminence

Cardinal Barberini in the enclosed letter, which you will hand to him without delay.

"For the rest, it would be tedious to describe all the particulars of the manner of proceeding of this friar ;—*ex ungue leonem*. He has commanded all his Visitators to exact twenty scudi from each Vicar-General, and four scudi from each Parish Priest; and he commanded that in case of poverty, and of their not being able to pay this sum, they should on three successive Sundays, *infra Missarum Solemnia*, ask it as alms from the people. His manner of life gives occasion to great scandal. May God grant him repentance, and give him grace to change his life."

"Taaffe went through all this farce more as the dupe of Peter Walsh than through any malice of his own; after repeated summonses he at length repaired to the Eternal City, and for many years led a retired life in the convent of S. Isidore."—p. 26-7.

On the circumstances of Dr. Plunket's nomination and consecration as Archbishop of Armagh, as being already sufficiently familiar from the former biographies, we need not dwell; but his letters upon the very date of his departure from Rome are full of interest. The account of his presentation to the Queen of Charles II. does not present anything substantially new, but it is a curious picture of the time.

"I presented the letters of your Eminence to the Queen who gave me a most gratifying audience, and passed a high eulogium on your Eminence for the affection which you have ever displayed towards her, as also towards the King, and the entire nation; and she added, that persons sent by your Eminence had always been excellent and well disposed towards his Majesty, and that she had like hopes for me. I spoke with some who are familiar with the King, and they told me that he often refers to your Eminence with affection and regard. I also consigned your Eminence's letter to the Rev. Father Howard, Grand Almoner, a truly worthy man. He secretly lodged me for ten days in his own apartments in the Royal Palace; with great kindness he often, too, conducted me in his carriage to see the principal curiosities of the city; he is truly hospitable and munificent, and the refuge of all foreign Catholics; and he enjoys great favour with the King and Queen, and is loved by all, even by the Protestants, for his great gentleness and courtesy. I request your Eminence to thank him in your next letters for the kindness which he showed me through esteem for your Eminence. F. Fernandez also, in consequence of your Eminence's letters made many professions of readiness to serve me, and showed great courtesy. In my opinion, he is not very influential, and has but little weight with the Queen: *est bonus vir*; he is a good simple man.

"Walsh is here, hated by all ; every one holds him to have been excommunicated by the Commissary-General of Flanders. He received a command to withdraw to that country, under pain of excommunication, but he appealed to the General, and should the General send him such an order, he will appeal to the Pope, and from the Pope he will appeal to a Council, and from the Council to the tribunal of God. He is a lost man. F. Taafe will do well not to return any more from this quarter of the world, his very name is so abhorred by all. The Parliament will reassemble on the 14th of February, which was the day fixed in the prorogation ; when the Parliament is prorogued, the preceding sessions are of little avail. The King asked for eight millions of scudi, in order to pay his debts ; but the Parliament declared they would only grant one million of scudi, and two hundred thousand more should France declare war against the Dutch. As the Government has no money we shall continue neutral. The Parliament often engages the King in foreign wars, and then refuses to grant supplies, in order that in his need he may be dependent on them ; and King James, (the First) in order that he should not be thus dependent on the Parliament, never consented to embark in war, though he was instigated to it by the Parliament, in favour of the heretics of France and Germany. General Monk died this morning, lamented by all ; he was a man of moderation and courage. It is thought that Prince Rupert, or the Duke of Monmouth, (natural son of the King,) will be the future General. Here the cold is so intense that the wine of Spain was frozen in my chalice ; for many years they have not experienced so rigid a season. A heavy fall of snow succeeded the ice, so that it is morally impossible to travel till this cold shall have passed. I have no desire, however, to remain in London, knowing the intention of the Court. The adherents of Walsh, or rather Walsh himself, send to some of the Ministers of Court anonymous letters, full of falsehoods about my presence here ; but their malignity is known, and they themselves are despised. A letter was written to the King, stating that F. Howard concealed three hundred priests in the Royal Palace, who made their rounds every night seeking to make proselytes for the Pope. These fabulous stories do this much good, that no credence is given to the writers even when they tell a little truth. The Duke of Ormond will do his utmost to excite some storm against the clergy, in order to molest Monsignor Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, for whom he entertains a mortal hatred."—p. 43-4.

The journey from London via Holyhead presents an amusing contrast with the "special expresses" and "limited mails" of the present day.

"I at length arrived in this city on Monday last, and I may say that I suffered more from London to Holyhead (where I went on board of a vessel) than during the remainder of the journey from

Rome to London—excessive cold, stormy winds, and a heavy fall of snow ; and then when a thaw set in, the rivers became so swollen that three times I was up to my knees in water in the carriage: I was detained twelve days at Holyhead in consequence of contrary winds; and then, after a sail of ten hours, I arrived in this port, where the many welcomes and caresses of my friends mitigated the grief with which I was oppressed on account of my departure from Rome.

"Sir Nicholas Plunket at once invited me to his house, and gave me his carriage : the Earl of Fingall, who is my cousin, invited me to his country seat. The Baron of Louth will give me board and lodging in my own Diocese as long as I please, and I am resolved to accept the invitation of this gentleman, as he lives in the very centre of my mission : there are also three other knights who are married to three of my cousins, and who vie with each other in seeing which of them shall receive me into his house.

"I was also consoled to find the Bishop of Meath, though sixty-eight years old, yet so robust, and so fresh, that he seemed to be no more than fifty : he has scarcely a grey hair in his head, and he sends his sincere respects to your Excellency. I write about these matters to your Excellency, knowing that you will be pleased to learn the happy success of one who reveres and loves you.

"I set out upon my journey despite the severity of the weather, that during the Lent I might be able to discharge part of my duty, in my Province ; but I shall find it difficult to assemble five Priests when consecrating the Holy Oils, especially during Holy Week, when all are occupied in hearing confessions : so I pray your Excellency to obtain for me the privilege of consecrating the Holy Oils with the assistance of only two Priests."—p. 45-6.

The perils of the road, however, were not the only dangers which the new primate had to encounter on his arrival in Ireland. Among the Rawdon Papers is preserved a letter of Lord Conway to his brother-in-law Sir George Rawdon, written by command of the Lord Lieutenant of the time, (November 1669,) which may indicate how insecure even then was the condition of a Catholic prelate in Ireland. ¶

"Dear Brother,—I have been all this day with my Lord Lieutenant, or employed about his commands, and I am but newly come home from him. Though it be very late, yet I am to give you notice, by his command, that the King hath privately informed him of two persons sent from Rome, that lie lurking in this country to do mischief. One is Signore Agnetti, an Italian employed by the College de Propaganda Fide, the other is Plunket, a member of the same college, and designed titular Archbishop of Armagh. If you can dexterously find them out, and apprehend them, 'twill be an

acceptable service. But I told him I did not think they kept their residence in our parts (about Lisburn) ; however, he thinks it is his duty to search everywhere.

"CONWAY.

"Dublin, 29th Nov., 1669."

"Such were the sentiments even of those who were esteemed the most just and impartial of our rulers! The person who, in the above document, is indicated by the name *Agnetti*, is the Canon *Claudius Agretti*, who for many years was first secretary of the Papal Internunzio in Brussels, and for some time, too, discharged the office of pro-Internunzio. At the period of which we speak he had been sent on a mission to Ireland with instructions from the Holy See connected with the forgeries of Taafe and the Remonstrance of Peter Walsh. He was probably as yet in Ireland, at the date of Lord Conway's letter, though on the eve of his departure from it ; as we find that on the 14th of December following he writes to Rome announcing his return to Brussels, and transmitting a paper, which he styles 'a narrative of his pilgrimage to [Ireland.]' The Government, however, was misinformed as to the presence of Dr. Plunket in the country, and though they had received intelligence of his appointment to the Primal See, yet they were wholly astray as to his movements ; and at the date of Lord Conway's despatch he was living with the Internunzio in Brussels, awaiting in peace the day appointed for his consecration. Aware of the feelings that existed, Dr. Plunket, on his arrival in Ireland, some months later, considered it prudent to avoid appearing in public as long as this administration lasted, and only performed his sacred functions, and visited his flock, by night or in disguise."—p. 47-8.

The concealment which he was obliged to affect, however, in no way interfered with the efficiency of his ministry. Writing to Rome in June, 1670, he "estimates the number of those to whom he had already administered the sacrament of Confirmation at about 10,000 ; and adds, that no fewer than fifty thousand persons yet remained to receive it. By frequent visitations he sought to place within the reach of all the consolations of that holy sacrament ; and so untiring were his labours that on the 15th December, 1673, he announces to the Secretary of the Propaganda :—' *During the past four years I confirmed forty-eight thousand six hundred and fifty-five.*' And what renders this more surprising is, the many toils he had to undergo in order to administer this sacrament to them ; for often, with no other food than a little oaten bread, he had to seek out their abodes in the mountains and in the woods, and often, too, was this sacrament

administered under the broad canopy of heaven, both flock and pastor being alike exposed to the winds and rain."

Among the most interesting of the fruits of Dr. Moran's researches, are the copious and minute details as to the state of the country and the condition of religion therein, which he has carefully brought together, as well from the Primate's papers, as from a variety of miscellaneous sources to which he has obtained access in Rome. It may perhaps excite surprise that, notwithstanding the rigour of the persecution which preceded the Primate's arrival in Ireland, the number of the clergy should still have continued such as we find it in the first days of his mission. In the diocese of Armagh he found still remaining forty secular priests. He calculates the number in the other dioceses of his province at about two hundred and fifty ; and it is a curious fact that even during the height of the persecution from 1651 till 1670, the Bishop of Ardagh, Dr. Plunket, the sole remaining prelate who was able to confer ordination, ordained no fewer than two hundred and fifty priests, for the various missions from which they were presented to him.

A few years later indeed, in 1673, this had increased to an absolute abuse, of which the Primate complains to the Internuncio in a very curious letter ;—a letter which is further interesting for some personal details regarding the ecclesiastical notabilities of the time.

"The Secular Clergy is too numerous: every gentleman desires a Chaplain, and is anxious to hear Mass in his own room, under pretence of fear of the Government. They force the Bishops to ordain Priests, and afterwards they move the whole world in order to procure a Parish for this Priest, their dependent: the remedy for this would be to withdraw from me, and from all the Archbishops and Bishops of this kingdom, the faculty of ordaining *extra tempora*, and I beseech you to deprive us of this faculty. The Irish College in Rome only maintains seven, or at most eight students ; that is, two for each province : and of these some die in Rome, and some become Religious, so that few remain for the Secular Clergy ; and so also it happens with two or three Colleges in Spain. As to those of Flanders if you except Louvain, which also maintains but few, the others are only for belles lettres. In a word, in the province of Armagh there are only three that were educated in Rome ; that is, Dr. James Cusack, a man distinguished for his learning and prudence ; Dr. Ronan Magin, also sufficiently learned, and now Vicar Apostolic of Dromore ; and a certain Eugene Colgan, Archdeacon of Derry, a very learned man, and of exemplary life. These are th

fruits of the Irish College as regards my province. There are three Dioceses of my province, that is to say, Raphoe, Derry, and Clogher, full of Protestants, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, &c., if you could obtain two places for each of these three dioceses, it would be of great advantage for the maintenance and propagation of the faith in this province and in these dioceses."—p. 86.

Still more curious, perhaps, is the Primate's Report on the Regular Clergy of Ulster, addressed to the Nuncio at Brussels, in 1671.

"The regular Clergy of the province of Armagh form a large body; in it they have many convents, and a yet greater number of friars. They are principally Dominicans and Franciscans, and the latter are more numerous than the former. I confess, however, that the Dominicans have the more able preachers. I have visited all the convents of the province excepting those of Ardagh, and shall now give some account of them.

"In the diocese of Armagh there are two convents of Dominicans; one in Drogheda, consisting of three friars, of whom *F. Bathews* is grave, prudent, and learned: the other convent is in Carlingford, consisting of five friars; its prior, *Eugene Cogly*, is one of the best preachers of the kingdom. There are three convents of Franciscans in this diocese: one in Drogheda, of six friars, amongst whom there is a man of great prudence and modesty, and very learned, by name *John Brady*: he is definitor. The second convent is in Dundalk, consisting of four friars, two of whom preach pretty well; their names are *Patrick Cassidy* and *Anthony Gearnon*: the latter was a follower of Walsh, and I fear that he is yet inwardly such, though he professes the contrary. The third convent is in Armagh, of fourteen friars, amongst whom there is only one worth mentioning, named *Bonaventure O'Quin*, a learned and prudent man, though not expert in preaching.

"In my diocese there is a residence of discalced Carmelites, and there is one father, who preaches very well, called *F. Levin*. There is also in Drogheda a residence of Capuchins, in which there are four friars; all four are men of merit, and two of them are good preachers, *F. Dowdall* and *F. Verdon*. There is, moreover, in the same city, a convent of Augustinians, composed of three friars: they are pretty good.

"In the united Dioceses of Down and Connor there are two convents of Franciscans, one in Down of eight friars, two of whom are good preachers, *F. Paul O'Neil* and *F. Paul O'Brynn*; they have a novitiate there, as also in Carrickfergus where they have a convent of six friars. Near Down, at 'Villa Nova,'* the Dominicans have a

* Dr. Moran has left this name untranslated. The convent referred to is that of *Newtown-Ardes*, which was founded so early

convent of five friars, and the prior, *F. Clemen. Byrne*, is a learned preacher.

"In the Diocese of Derry the Dominicans have two convents, one in the city of Derry, of six friars; the prior, *F. Patrick O'Dyry*, is an exceedingly good man, and a great preacher. The other convent is in Culrahan, and consists of ten friars, the prior, *F. Dominick Loreman* is famous for preaching. The Franciscans have in this diocese a residence of four friars. In the two convents of the Dominicans there are novitiates.

"In the Diocese of Raphoe there are, in the convent of Donegal, eighteen friars, two of them distinguished, *F. Stephen Congall*, and *F. Anthony Dogherty*, who had been provincial. Here also they have a novitiate.

"In the Diocese of Clogher the Dominicans have a convent of eight friars, two of whom are good preachers, *F. Thomas MacMahon* and *F. Charles MacManus*. Here again they have a novitiate. There are two convents of Franciscans, one in Lisgaole, of six friars, two of whom are sufficiently good preachers, *F. Terenan* and *F. Mac-malachin*. The other convent is in Monaghan, composed of seven friars, and one of them is a good preacher and learned man, his name is *F. Francis Maguire*.

"In the Diocese of Meath the Dominicans have a convent at Trim of five friars; they have also a novitiate there; amongst the friars there is one named *F. John Byrne*, a great and learned preacher but quarrelsome. In this Diocese there are two convents of Franciscans; there is one likewise at Trim of six friars; all were Vallilians, but now pretend the contrary; the two most distinguished in this convent are of the *Tuite* family. The other convent is in Multifarnham, composed of ten friars; *F. Geanor* resides there. It has also a novitiate.

"In the Diocese of Kilmore there is only one convent of Franciscans.

"Some of the dioceses are here passed over in silence, but we have sufficient data to supply them from a *Relatio* or report of the Province of Ulster, presented by Dr Plunket in 1675, to the Sacred Congregation. From it we learn that in the Diocese of Dromore there were no Regular Clergy. In the Diocese of Clonmacnoise there was one Convent of Franciscans, and in the Diocese of Ardagh there were two Convents of Franciscans and one of Dominicans."—
p. 66-8

The reader will be even less prepared for the facts regarding education which the letters of the Primate bring

as 1244, by Walter de Burgh. Its lands were granted to Lord Clundeboy, and by him assigned to Viscount Montgomery of Ardes. No trace of the building is now discoverable.

to light during a period when all is popularly regarded as complete and unredeemed ignorance and darkness. One of the Primate's first cares was to establish, in July 1670, a college for three Jesuit Fathers, which, in a short time, numbered no fewer than one hundred and fifty pupils within its walls. We shall allow the facts to be gathered from one of the Primate's own letters, the original of which is preserved in Trinity College, Dublin. This letter possesses all the curious interest of an "intercepted letter." It was addressed to Padre Oliva, General of the Society of Jesus, but seems never to have reached its destination, having probably fallen into the hands of the Government.

"Very Reverend Father.—Dr. Creagh, the agent of the Prelates of this kingdom in the Roman court, has written to me declaring his many obligations to your Paternity for your affability, kindness, and patronage in his regard, which is of great assistance to him. By long experience in Rome, I learned how great a benefactor you were, and your kindness has been experienced in like manner by all my fellow-countrymen in Rome; each and every one of whom attest your anxiety in their regard, and as they cannot otherwise correspond with this kindness and prove their gratitude, than by loving and doing good to the members of your Order in this kingdom, I can assure you that in this they are not cold or negligent, and the Fathers, on the other hand, by the great good which they do, merit to be thus loved, praised, and caressed. I have three Fathers in the Diocese of Armagh, who by their virtue, learning, and labours, would suffice to enrich a kingdom.

"The Founder of the Armagh Residence is Father Stephen Rice, a learned man, successful in preaching, prudent in his labours, and of profound religious virtue; nor is he ever weary of teaching, instructing, and attending to the pupils and to the young priests, of whom he is the examiner and director. Oh! how much he had to suffer during the past two years and four months, in founding that residence! *Sudavit et alsit*: and he is so modest, so reserved, that he seems as though he had come on yesterday from the novitiate of St. Andrew's. He was educated in Flanders, where, indeed he was imbued with the true spirit of the society; he retains that spirit, and is a son worthy of such a Father as St. Ignatius; in a word, Father Rice is another Father Young.*

"The second is Father Ignatius Browne, a celebrated preacher in the English language, a learned man, and of exemplary life. He was educated in Spain, and preaches on every festival with great applause in the principal chapel.

"The third is Father Murphy, a good theologian, and good reli-

* A distinguished Irish Jesuit.

gious: he also preaches well in Irish, and is a young man of great talent.

"There is a lay-brother named Nicholas, who is like a real brother of Brother George of holy memory.

"In the schools there are 150 boys; for the greater part children of the Catholic nobility and gentry, and there are also about 40 children of the Protestant gentry. You may imagine what envy it excites in the Protestant masters and ministers to see the Protestant children coming to the schools of the Society.

"In the city of my diocese, where the residence is, there are also houses of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Capuchins; the city is called Drogheada, or *Dráet* in our English and Irish languages, and *Pontana* in Latin: it is distant from Dublin as far as Tivoli from Rome; it is a maritime port, situated on the noble river Boyne, or *Boina*, and from its bridge (*pons*) it derives its Latin name 'Pontana.' It is well supplied with corn, with flesh of every description, and with fish. The country around is for the most part inhabited by orthodox noblemen and gentlemen, and in the city there are rich merchants and respectable artisans.

"When I introduced the Fathers to my diocese, and the schools commenced to flourish, Dr. Talbot reprehended the undertaking as rash, imprudent, precipitate, and vain, and said that it would be short-lived, especially in such a busy city. But he was only half acquainted with the matter. The Viceroy, my Lord Berkeley, was most friendly to me, and esteemed me much more than I deserved: —*et in verbo ipsius laxari rete*—and I founded the residence; and the present Viceroy, the Earl of Essex, a wise, prudent, and moderate man, is nowise inferior to his predecessor in his kindness towards me, as also to the schools. As they have lasted these two years and four months, so we may hope that God, through the intercession of St. Ignatius, will grant them a longer duration. But be this as it may, whilst the wind is favourable, we must raise the sails and pursue our course, and when it becomes contrary or tempestuous, we shall lower them and seek shelter in some small port beneath a mountain or rock."—p. 100-1.

These wonderful results were not attained without much labour and great personal sacrifices on the part of the Primate. He assures the Internuncio that in two years he expended out of his own miserable resources more than four hundred crowns. *He dressed in cloth at two shillings a yard;* he employed but a single servant, with a boy to attend to the horses, and he kept a most sparing table, in order that all his little economies might be devoted to the maintenance of his beloved school.

We are tempted to add, as a companion sketch, the Primate's account of the various Irish Colleges in for-

eign countries. This paper likewise was addressed to the Internuncio.

" And to begin with the Irish Colleges in Rome, it was founded by Cardinal Ludovisi, nephew of Gregory the Fifteenth: he bequeathed to it a thousand scudi a year, besides a good house and a good vineyard in Castel Gandolfo, and it maintains about seven or eight students, three Jesuits, and two servants. But in a separate letter, I shall write more particularly about the college. Its revenue is capable of supporting twelve students, who would be better prepared for this mission than they now are. In Spain there are four colleges, all directed by the Fathers of the Society; one of them is St. Jago, which supports at one time six, at another seven students; another in Salamanca of the same kind, and another in Lisbon, which maintains eight or ten students. These three colleges were founded by Philip the Second, and in doing so he proved himself a zealous Catholic and a good politician; by this means he won the affection of the Irish, and when the students returned to Ireland they won for the Spaniards the hearts and the esteem of all their friends; in a word, they could speak of nothing but Spain, *totam spirabant Hispaniam*, whence it happens that the Irish go more freely to serve the King of Spain than any other Prince.

" In France there is a college at Bordeaux which maintains twenty-four students, as I have heard, founded by the Archbishops of Bordeaux and others; but contrary to the institution and intention of the founders, this college does not admit any excepting from Cashel and Munster; and the colleges of Spain do not willingly receive students from Ulster, which is a serious injury and a manifest injustice. It truly moves one to compassion to see high families of the houses of O'Neil, O'Donnel, Maguire, MacMahon, Maginnis, O'Cahan, O'Kelly, O'Ferrall, who were great Princes till the time of Elizabeth and King James, in the memory of my father and of many who are yet living; it moves one to compassion, I say, to see their children without property and without maintenance, and without means of education, and yet for the faith they suffered joyfully the loss of property, *cum gaudio suscepserunt direptionem bonorum*; but it is intolerable that they should be excluded from college education, for the colleges were not founded for this or that province, but for the whole Kingdom. As to the college in Rome, I can propose a plan according to which it may be able to support sixteen students, and with more profit to religion, than it now supports six; but this must be kept as a secret much like that of the holy office till it be carried into execution. At present, as I said it maintains eight students, and three Jesuits, and two servants, in all thirteen; it has a thousand scudi per annum, and a house and vineyard; let the house be sold, which is worth 6,000 scudi, as also the vineyard, which, with the house that is in it, is worth 2,000 more; let these 8,000 scudi be put in the 'Montes Pietatis,' and they will

give 240 scudi per annum, which, with the 1,000 scudi above, will make in all 1,240 scudi per annum; and let the whole sum be given to the College of Propaganda *et erigatur alumnatus Hibernicus*, which may also be called *alumnatus Hibernicus Ludovicianus*, for it was Cardinal Ludovisi that left the money, and instead of Jesuits and servants, it will maintain so many students. Of what use is it to keep a little college with so few students, whilst for the same funds a larger number can be maintained for the service of the Missions? But two difficulties have to be solved; the first is, how can the testament of Cardinal Ludovisi be interfered with? I answer, that the Holy Father, by a brief, can arrange this, for it is nowise injurious to that Cardinal, or to his intentions: *supponetur enim interpretative Cardinalis quamvis defuncti consensus, ac fore ut idem Cardinalis consentiret si modo viciisset*; it being the intention of the Cardinal to propagate the faith, which is better realized by placing the students in Propaganda, where a larger number may be educated. It is certain that the Cardinal had the intention of erecting a larger and more numerous College, but, *morte praeventus*, he could not carry his noble ideas into execution. The second difficulty is that the Jesuits will oppose the project,—but this is of little matter, when we are acting for the greater glory of God. The money was left to maintain Priests for the missions, and not Jesuits; and indeed, many of the students become Jesuits, and never return to their country, which is contrary to the intention of the Cardinal. But some one will say that the Ludovisi family will give opposition; to this I reply that the greater glory of God is to be preferred to such opposition; for there is no reasonable ground of complaint, and it is a greater glory for the Ludovisi family to have an *alumnatus* in so renowned a College, which is frequented by so many Cardinals, than to have so small a College, which serves rather for the Jesuits than for carrying out the intention of the founder. But then, everyone knows how the Ludovisi family now stands, and that it will make little opposition when it is well informed about the matter; all that is wanted is determination and secrecy, and whilst our Holy Father is solicitous for the propagation of the faith, there will be but little difficulty in it.

"There is a College at Seville, which maintains sixteen students, and is supported by alms.

"The Bishop of Ferns can give better information about the Colleges in Spain, and perhaps, also, about that in France. The Canon Joyce can give it concerning those in Flanders. There is a College, as I hear, in Toulouse, but I do not know in what state it is; I believe it is of little importance.

"OLIVER PLUNKET.

"30th September, 1671."

"In another letter written on the same day he adds a postscript, in which he says:—'I forgot a College founded in Alcala, by George de Passe Silviéra, a Portuguese; he left 5,000 scudi a-year,

but a great deal has been expended in building. The Bishop of Ferns can give you an account of it.' "—p. 110-11.

Dr. Moran has completed this enumeration by a brief sketch of the Irish College, Paris; but as our readers are already familiar, from many references in this Journal, with the history of that establishment, we shall not dwell upon it.

In addition to the Primate's labours in his own extensive diocese, he was also charged with the duty of visitation in his provinces. We should gladly transfer to our pages the entire body of Reports and other documents connected therewith which Dr. Moran has brought together in illustration of this visitation. They are full of interest in themselves, and still more curious as illustrative of the condition of Ireland at the time. But we must content ourselves with a few specimens, referring the reader to Dr. Moran's Memoir for the other documents of the series. The only separate report of the Primate's visitation of the dioceses of his province, from his own hand, which Dr. Moran has recovered, is that upon Down and Connor; but he has added, from letters and various other sources, much miscellaneous information regarding the rest of Ulster, and even of the other provinces. There is another Report of a general visitation of the province in 1675, but we shall content ourselves with the report on Down and Connor.

"Relation concerning the canonically united dioceses of Down and Connor."

"These united dioceses are about 50 miles in length and 15 in breadth: they are rather mountainous than level, and abound in milk, oats, and barley. Great peace is enjoyed there.

"There are about two thousand five hundred Catholic families. The Marquis of Antrim, a good Catholic, is very powerful and very zealous; there is no other Catholic that has property there. Thanks to God, the Catholics enjoy great toleration.

"There is no Bishop, but a Vicar-General, by name Patrick O'Mulderig, an old man, 60 years of age, a good and practical priest, though not distinguished for literature; he lives with his brother in a private house, and has converted many to the faith.

"The cathedral churches of Down and Connor are now roofless, but that of Down is very celebrated as being the burial-place of Saint Patrick, Columba, and Bridget, according to the old distich—

*'Hi tres in Duno, tumulo tumulantur in uno
Brigida, Patritius, atque Columba pius.'*

In Down also, was born the celebrated Doctor Scotus.

"In the diocese of Down there is a convent of Dominicans, but the friars live at lodgings. There are five Dominicans, but only one is of great fame, viz., Clement O'Byrne, who is a good preacher, and produces much fruit.

"There is also a convent of Franciscans, who are twelve in number, and amongst them Paul O'Bryne, Paul O'Neill, and James O'Hiny are the most distinguished in point of preaching and producing fruit.

"In the convent of Carrickfergus, in the diocese of Connor, there are ten Franciscans, of whom only five are priests; amongst these Hugh O'Dornan and Daniel O'Mellon are distinguished in preaching. There is also a certain Paul O'Haran, who is well versed in literature.

"The Dominicans have a convent in Culrahan, in which there are only four friars, and of these only two are priests, one of whom, James Crolly, is a good preacher.

"The parish priests are supported by a stipend which the Catholics give them—namely, every family, in addition to the uncertain sums, contributes four *Julii* (2s.) every year. At baptism two *Julii* (1s.) are given, at marriage four, and at extreme unction two, and also at every burial each family, according to its own pleasure, gives some alms.

"There are many boys well suited for study, but there is a great want of Catholic schools, as the Protestants do not allow Catholic masters. There is, nevertheless, a certain William Flaherty, a priest, a good rhetorician, who keeps a school in Down.

"There are no nuns, excepting four of the Franciscan order.

"At the time of Cromwell there was a violent persecution, and whosoever brought in the head of a priest received 20 scudi (£5,) but under the present King there is great toleration and sufficient connivance."—p. 140-41.

On occasion of a visit to Tuam for the purpose of bearing the Pallium to the Archbishop, the Primate addressed to the Secretary of the Propaganda a letter which contains many interesting personal details.

"From the beginning of February to the 10th of March, I have been travelling in the Province of Tuam, to which I went in order to give the Pallium to the Archbishop of Tuam, who is a prelate most prudent and ecclesiastical. I spoke also with the Bishop of Clonfert, who is a grave and prudent man, and beloved by all. I saw Dr. Michael Lynch, Vicar-Apostolic of Kilmaeduagh, a learned and grave man, and a famous preacher. I had also in my company for ten days, Maurice Durcan, the Vicar-General of Achonry, who

is doctor in theology, and a grave man. I enjoyed the society, too, for fifteen days, of Dr. J. Dowley, who was Vicar-General of Tuam for thirty-five years, during the whole time of the persecution, and suffered very much, and as the Catholics of the diocese inform me, *sæviente persecutio*ne he kept alive the spark of religion which remained in the diocese, and in the whole province, and he is the best casuist of the entire province, as I learned from the Archbishop. The city of Galway, although small, is very beautiful, and two-thirds of the inhabitants are Catholic, but they are poor, having lost all their properties. Oh! what a devout and hospitable people. They support no less than three convents, one of the Dominicans, another of the Augustinians, and a third of the Franciscans. The Dominicans have the best and most ornamented church that is in the entire kingdom. All three convents live with the greatest regularity and decorum. The city is exceedingly strong, and is a maritime port. It was the last place in the kingdom attacked by Cromwell, and it resisted a long time. The Superior, or, as they call him, the Warden of the Secular Clergy in the city of Galway, and in nine or ten adjoining parishes, pretends to exemption from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop, and on this head disorders frequently arise; but as far as I could see, the Warden is in the wrong, and is not exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary, but regarding this matter I leave all to the Archbishop, as it is his business.

"The parliament gave liberty of conscience to the Presbyterians, Protestants, Anabaptists, &c., but would not grant it to the Catholics; nay more, it seeks to induce the king to retract the declaration made in favour of the Catholics. The king, however, is firm, and does not wish to consent to the desires of parliament on that head, and we hope that he may continue in this good resolution, although some are of opinion, that the want of money will oblige him to do what he would not otherwise consent to. I pray you to excuse this besmeared letter, as the servant, when making my bed, upset the ink-bottle, and as the post leaves in two hours, and is at a distance from me, I have no time to re-write the letter."—p. 148-9.

But by far the most curious of all these papers is a letter written about the end of 1673, which contains a careful resumé of the condition of the ecclesiastical finance of Ireland at this period. It is a long document, but we are sure our readers will not object to its insertion in its unabridged form.

"On the Vigil of Christmas Mgr. Daniel Makey, Bishop of Down and Connor, most perfectly obeyed the last edict, and departed not only from Ireland, but also from the world, to enjoy now, as we hope, a country and a kingdom where he will be free from the Parliament of England and its edicts. He was a good theologian, educated in

Spain, and chaplain for many years of D. Pedro, of Aragon. At his death he had no more than thirty-five bajocchi (eighteen pence), so that to have even a private funeral it was necessary to sell a part of his goods.

"I take the present opportunity of sending to the Sacred Congregation an account of a matter of some importance, and the effect of this report will be, I hope, to prevent, for some time, the appointment of any more bishops for this kingdom, and my opinion is based on the poverty of the various dioceses, which is, indeed, astounding. The following is the annual revenue of all my suffragan sees:-

	£ s.
The Primatial See of Armagh,	62 0
The diocese of Meath,	70 0
" " of Clogher,	45 0
" " of Derry,	40 0
" United dioceses of Down and Connor,	25 0
" Diocese of Raphoe,	20 0
" " of Kilmore,	35 0
" " of Ardagh,	30 0
" " of Dromore,	17 10
" " Clonmacnoise,	7 10

These are all the sees, with their revenues, in the province of Armagh. You may easily reflect and ponder how little it becomes the dignity of the episcopal character to be bishops in dioceses which cannot yield a sufficient support.

"Moreover, I know for certain, that the Metropolitan sees of Dublin, and Cashel, and Tuam, do not yield £40 each per annum. It is true, that the diocese of Elphin, which is a suffragan see of the Archbishop of Tuam, yields about £50, and the diocese of Killaloe, in the province of Cashel, yields about £55; but of the other dioceses not one exceeds £25.

"The churches of Ireland, however, as they are in the hands of the Protestants, are very rich; for instance, the Protestant Primate derives from the lands and possessions of the church of Armagh £5,000 per annum, and the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin has about 3,000. But the Catholic Primate and Archbishop has only the revenues which I mentioned above; whence you may conclude how inexpedient it is to appoint any more bishops in this kingdom: and should any such be appointed, it will be necessary for the Sacred Congregation to supply them with revenues, as it does for the bishops in the Indies, and *ad orientales infidelium plagas*. I have two suffragans, Dr Plunket, Bishop of Meath, Brother of the Earl of Fingall, who for the past twenty-six years has served the Sacred Congregation with the greatest integrity, even at a time when there was no other bishop to act in Ireland. The other is Dr. Patrick Duffy, Bishop of Clogher, who even ventured to take pos-

session of his see at the moment when the persecution was about to burst forth.

"The Archbishop of Tuam has two suffragans, that is, the Bishops of Clonfert and Elphin.

"The Archbishop of Cashel has two also in his province, the Bishops of Waterford and Kilaloe; there is also a third, but he lives in France, viz., the Bishop of Kilfenora.

"The Archbishop of Dublin has one suffragan, the Bishop of Ossory, who is in Ireland; and another, the Bishop of Ferus, a worthy prelate, but who, for many years past, has fixed his domicile in France. In my humble judgment the Metropolitan, with one suffragan Bishop, would be quite sufficient in each province.

"From this report a question of curiosity will, perhaps, suggest itself to your Excellency, how, forsooth, I and the other prelates succeed in making out these few shillings? Each parish priest gives us per annum for *proxy* one pound sterling, which is equal to twenty shillings, or four scudi. But you will ask, how is the parish priest maintained? I answer that each family or each head of a family gives four juli, that is, two shillings per annum to the parish priest; then for his trouble in baptism he receives one shilling; for every matrimony, 1s. 6d., or three juli. From which it follows, that where there are most Catholic families, there the parish priest is richest; I should rather say, less poor and miserable. In the diocese of Down and Connor, as also in many other dioceses, there is a large number of Presbyterians (who are especially numerous in Ulster), of Anabaptists, and Quakers, and hence these dioceses are exceedingly poor. And it must here be remarked, that the Presbyterians, who are an offshoot of Protestantism, are more numerous than Catholics and Protestants together.

"You thus see the state of the ecclesiastical riches of the Catholic Bishops of this kingdom, and I assure you that during the past four years I would have been reduced to beggary were it not for a few pence that I had set aside, but which are now wholly exhausted.

"I pray you to send this letter to Mgr. Ravizza, who is the present Secretary of Propaganda, as I have been informed. I already requested you to direct your letters to me thus—*For Mr. Thomas Cox, Dublin*, and they will surely reach me without being intercepted. I now make my reverence to you from my hiding-place, on the Feast of the Holy Innocents, 1673. I wish you a most happy new year, replete with every felicity."—p. 182-4.

It will hardly be matter of surprise that, considering the frequent journeys which he was obliged to make, and the many occasions of expenditure to which he was subject, the Primate should often have found himself sorely straitened. One of his most constant subjects of complaint is his heavy expenditure for postage. In the year 1671, his

expenditure under this head was more than a hundred crowns ; and, in addition to his own letters, he was commonly obliged to defray the cost of the correspondence of the other prelates, which was generally transmitted through him. One of his special grievances too, was the foreign practice of using envelopes, " which cost as much as the letters themselves, every letter with a cover costing 46 bajocchi, while without the cover it would only cost 23." It is not uninteresting in these days of penny postage, to hear what were the rates of 1673. " There is no single letter," writes the Primate to the Internuncio at Brussels, " which I send to your Excellency that does not cost me one giulio (6d.) ; for each letter that I receive from you I have to pay two giulj and a half (15d.) ; there is no letter that I receive from Cashel or Tuam but costs me a carlino (4d.) in Dublin, and then 2½ bajocchi (1½d.) from Dublin to my residence. Then, too, I have to give some recompense to my agents in Dublin and London, who have the trouble of going to the post to receive the letters and transmit them to me ; and in paying them for the post I was not very stinted ; they would not have served me and wasted their time, and shoes, and paper, and ink, were I not liberal with them. I may say the same of my correspondents in Tuam and Cashel, and indeed, *digni erant mercedibus suis*. I doubt not but the purse of your Excellency must feel and experience the expense of letters ; indeed, there has been no year that it did not cost me more than one hundred scudi (£25.) ; and since the period of your coming to the Nunciature in Flanders it has cost me more than a hundred scudi : for, during the whole time of the persecution, which has now lasted a year all to one month, though I was concealed in the mountains, as was also the Bishop of Waterford, with the exception of the two past months, I always found some means, though not without difficulty, to procure letters from these quarters." " Before I commenced a direct correspondence with your Excellency, I sent the letters to Ghent, to Mr. Clark ; I sent some by Paris, and I think I paid Clark about ten dobloons. Every letter from my diocese to Dublin costs 7½ bajocchi, (3½d.) ; from Dublin to London, 10 bajocchi, from London to Ghent, or Brussels, 13 bajocchi ; from Brussels to Mantua, if I mistake not, 20 bajocchi ; from Mantua to Rome, 2½ bajocchi. Now my diocese yields only 240 scudi per

annum, and when I have supported myself, a chaplain, a servant, and a stable boy, but little can remain." Elsewhere, he says, that each letter he received from Brussels cost him 25 bajocchi; and each letter from Cashel or Tuam, 10 bajocchi, sixpence. So heavily indeed, did this charge press upon him that in 1675 the Internuncio wrote, "For many weeks I have received no letter from the Archbishop of Armagh, as he, in the present afflictions, finding himself in want of means, abstains from writing, in order not to incur the heavy expense of the post."

In 1671 the Primate undertook, at the desire of the Propaganda, a visitation of the Highlands of Scotland. Unfortunately Dr. Moran has failed to recover the Primate's Report of this visit; but he supplies the want by two nearly contemporary documents, which are so interesting that we shall transcribe them.

The first is of 1669, and is from the pen of Dr. Winster, for many years Prefect of the Highland Missions.

"The mountainous districts are barren, and during five or six months of the year scarcely yield to the inhabitants sufficient oatmeal or barley-bread; towards the sea there is an abundance of fish, and everywhere there are large flocks of sheep and cattle; the people live on cheese, milk, and butter; the lower classes, however, are often without bread.

"The Highlands have no commerce with foreign nations, but sell their cattle to the inhabitants of the Lowlands, and are thus enabled to purchase flour; this is the reason why the missionaries who visit these districts are obliged not only to bring with them bread and wine for the Holy Sacrifice, but also food and every other necessary, not without very great inconvenience.

"There are no post-offices, and no means of sending letters, unless a person sends them by hand to the chief city of the kingdom.

"The language of the inhabitants is the Irish, wherefore only natives of Ireland are suited for the missions, till such time as priests from the districts themselves be educated in the colleges on the Continent.

"The Catholics live in peace in the district of Glengarry, under Earl Mac Donnell; also in those mountain districts which belong to the Marquis of Huntley, and in the islands of Uist, Barra, and Morar, which are the most remote from the government residences.

"Such is the severity of the laws, that the practice of the Catholic religion is not allowed; in the Highlands, however, and remote islands, these laws are not carried into execution.

"The present missionaries are two Franciscan friars, viz., Father Mark and Father Francis MacDonnell, sent thither by the Sacred

Congregation ; there is also one secular priest (a missionary of the Sacred Congregation), whose name is Francis White, and a school-master in the Glengarry district named Eugene MacAlaster. The Father White, whom I have mentioned, often visits the islands and the lands of Glengarry and all the mountain districts, as far as he is able, and in doing so he endures great fatigue and suffering, willingly, however, on account of his great zeal for the salvation of souls; hence all this country is greatly indebted to him, and he is a native of Ireland.

"The schoolmaster is scarcely tolerated in Glengarry, despite the protection of the lord of that territory ; and there is but little hope of another master being found to succeed the present one in that toilsome position.

"There was also another Irish missionary in the Highlands, named Duigen ; he, however, has left that mission : and now Father White alone remains.

"The few missionaries who are in the mountainous districts, are wholly insufficient for the wants of the Catholics, especially in winter, when the roads are almost wholly impracticable ; wherefore we pray that other Irish priests may be sent thither, and Father White undertakes to find such priests through his brother, who is Vicar in the diocese of Limerick in Ireland ; this is the more necessary as the Franciscans, on account of their bad health, cannot long continue on that mission."—p. 176-7.

The second is from an unnamed Scottish priest, who reports the result of a visit which he had made to all the districts of the mission.

"The Highland families are, for the most part, Catholic, or prepared to be so, if they had priests to instruct them ; those, however, of the Lowlands are most fierce heretics, and hate the Highlanders on account of their religion.

"The Highlanders are of an excellent disposition, quick of intellect, and taking a special delight in the pursuit of knowledge ; they are desirous of novelties, and have an unbounded passion for ingenious inventions, so that no greater favour can be conferred on them than to educate their children, and render them suited to become priests or ecclesiastics.

"Their untiring constancy in all matters is truly surprising, and is admitted and extolled even by their enemies, particularly in regard of religion, which they continue to profess, as much as the severity of the persecution, and the total want of priests permit.

"Their arms are two-edged swords, large shields, bows and arrows, which they still continue to use, adding to them, however, fire-arms, which they manage with admirable dexterity.

"They still retain the language and costume of their earliest fore-fathers, so that their dress is not very dissimilar from that of

the ancient statues in Rome, loosely covered from the waist to the knee, and a *bonnet* on the head.

"Almost all the families are Catholic, or disposed to receive the Catholic faith, if, for no other reason, at least to imitate their ancestors, who were so zealous in the cause of religion. Nay more, many of these families have suffered, and acutally suffer for this sole reason, not only in Parliament, where the nobility of the Lowlands have a large majority, but also in the courts of justice, where they are oppressed by the greater number and authority of their enemies; and the heretic Judges give sentence against them, even though their cause be most just, deeming them rebels for not conforming to the established Religion.

"The remaining Scoto-Irish are heretics, more through ignorance than malice; they cease not, however, to cherish a great esteem for the Catholics, as appears in many things.

"If a priest visits them they show him more respect, and honour him more than their own ministers. In fact, the heretics amongst the Highlanders surpass in reverence for our priests the very Catholics of the Lowlands.

"They, moreover, retain many Catholic usages, such as making the sign of the Cross, the Invocation of Saints, and sprinkling themselves with holy water, which they anxiously ask from their Catholic neighbours.

"In sickness they make pilgrimages to the ruins of the old churches and chapels which yet remain, as of the most noble monastery of Iona, where St. Columba was Abbot, also of the chapels of Ghierlock, and Appercrosse, and Glengarry, which were once dedicated to the saints. They also visit the holy springs, which yet retain the names of the saints to whom they were dedicated; and it has often pleased the Most High to restore to their health those who visited these ruins or drank at these springs, invoking the aid of the Saints.

"The enmity of the Lowlanders has been a source of great injury to the Scoto-Irish, especially since heresy began to domineer in Scotland; for the inhabitants of the Lowlands being most furious heretics (with the exception of some few whom the Catholic missionaries restored to the bosom of the Church), and seeing the Highlanders most constant in the faith, and that there is no hope of alienating them from the Catholic Church, seek, by all possible means, to excite odium against them, designating them barbarians, impious, enemies of the reformed creed, &c.; and they hesitate not to affirm of them everything that can be suggested by detraction and their own excessive hatred; and they even deem it a glorious deed to show contempt for, or cast ridicule on a Highlander."—p. 177-8.

These journeys, as well as most of the Primate's missionary expeditions, were conducted as secretly as pos-

sible. His correspondence, too, especially the foreign part of it, was maintained in an assumed name. "Many of his letters are in cipher, but the Internuncio always transmitted their key to the Sacred Congregation. His assumed name on these occasions was for some time *Thomas Cox*, and afterwards *Edward Hamon* or *Hamond*; in fact, all our prelates, when corresponding with Rome, were compelled to assume other names; thus, Dr. Tyrrell, of Clogher, signed himself *Scurlog*, which name he afterwards changed for *Stapleton*; Dr. Cusack assumed the name of *Fleming*, and Dr. Forstall, Bishop of Kildare, the more German title, M. F. von Creslaw. Even the Internuncio was seldom addressed by his proper name, and we find him at first styled Monsieur *Pruisson*, which, in 1679, for greater security, was often changed into *Picquet*."

In the more active intervals of persecution, other and far greater precautions were necessary. In the introductory sketch prefixed to these Memoirs we read many curious details of the arts "to which they were obliged to have recourse in order to break to their flock the bread of life. One lived as a hermit, perpetually shut up in a secret place, only a few Catholics being acquainted with this retreat. Another, often changing his disguise, went publicly through the streets; at one time he wore a long beard and a soldier's dress; at other times he travelled as a mechanic or merchant; sometimes, too, he carried a bread-basket on his shoulders, thus becoming all to all that he might gain all to Christ. A third disguised himself as a miller, and occasionally as a gardener; and though living in the country, often passed through the midst of the enemy's guards carrying herbs, or fruits, or some such articles, as if he were journeying to market, whilst he was in reality hastening to the bedside of the infirm. These stratagems, however, did not always enable them to elude the vigilance of the soldiery. Thus, one aged man—a venerable Jesuit—was seized at the very altar when offering the holy sacrifice; the soldiers at once tore off the sacred vestments and cast him into a horrid dungeon. Another priest, though disguised, was assailed by them in the public streets, despoiled of all he had with him, and thrown into the common sewer; and it was only by the interposition of some passers-by, who declared that he could not be a priest, that he was rescued

from their brutality." Dr. Plunket himself, during the vice-royalty of Lord Roberts of Truro, was obliged, in order to conceal himself, to go under the name of *Captain Brown*, with a sword, wig, and pistols, for a space of two or three months! (p. 185.)

The arrest, imprisonment, trial, and execution of the Primate, was perhaps the portion of his history which had hitherto been best known. The biography of Dr. Crolly is, in these respects, very full and satisfactory. Even here, however, Dr. Moran has succeeded in obtaining further information; but we must content ourselves with a general reference to this part of his narrative as full of interest.

We cannot close our notice, however, without the warmest expression of our sense of the exceeding value and importance of this contribution to the history of our national Church. The author has had the good fortune to obtain access to an entirely new and unexplored body of materials, and he has employed his opportunities with an industry and skill of which it is impossible to speak too highly. The success which has attended his researches in this particular instance, cannot, we fear, for reasons already explained, be regarded as a measure by which to estimate the probabilities of a similar result in other periods of the history; but it holds out, nevertheless, the promise of at least much which had hitherto been regarded as hopeless. Every instalment of light is valuable, not alone for itself, but for the aid which it affords to subsequent exploration. Every new fact which Dr. Moran has disinterred, every lost name which he has recovered, every link, however minute, which he has supplied in the fragmentary series of our history, will infallibly lead to further success, or at least will tend to render the general scheme of the history more complete and more intelligible. The light which he has brought from foreign archives will clear up what is indistinct in our home traditions; while the domestic records, poor as they are, will, in their turn, eke out the details which even the less mutilated records of Rome supply but imperfectly.

And the success which has thus attended what may be called the first systematic exploration of one of the sources of our history, will prove, we trust, an incentive to inquiry in other almost equally untried quarters. No skilful, and especially no sympathizing, explorer has yet thoroughly

investigated the various depositories of English state papers, whether in the British Museum, the Bodleian, Trinity College, Dublin, and other Libraries, or in the various departments of the State Paper Offices in which papers connected with Ireland are likely to be found. The progress which has been made, and continues to be made in the useful work of calendaring the contents of these offices will much facilitate this investigation. But besides the public departments, there are yet many other quarters which may well deserve a searching examination. In explaining the contrast which the copiousness of Oliver Plunket's Roman correspondence presents to the scantiness and often the complete absence of all record which characterises other periods which are known to have been equally eventful, we rested mainly upon the circumstances of Dr. Plunket's life antecedent to his mission into Ireland, and on the close relations with Rome which he had formed during his early career and continued to maintain to the very end of his life. Few of the prelates had enjoyed the same advantages as regards relations with Rome. During what remained of the seventeenth and the greater part of the eighteenth century the Irish Prelacy was largely supplied from the schools of France, of Spain, and of the Low Countries; and abstracting from the duties of official intercourse, those particular relations, arising from early intercourse, which these prelates may be supposed to have formed, would have been rather with the countries in which they were educated, than with Rome, the second home of Oliver Plunket. It is not unnatural, in the case of French, Spanish, or Belgian students, to look for communications to Louvain, to Paris, to Salamanca, to Seville, similar to those which the Roman student and professor addressed to his old friends and colleagues; and although most of the records of such intercourse must unhappily be given up as irrecoverably lost, it is by no means impossible that in such depositories as the Burgundian Library at Brussels, the archives of Simancas* in Spain, and even the state

* Since the above was written we have learned with sincere pleasure that the Master of the Rolls has added one more to the many obligations which he has conferred on the historical literature of the country, by obtaining the permission of the Spanish Government for the calendaring of so many of the state papers at Simancas as regard the history of these countries.

paper archives of the French capital, many precious memorials may still be recoverable. In like manner, as many of our Bishops were members of the Dominican, the Franciscan, the Augustinian, or other Orders, we are not without hope that among the neglected papers of some of the great houses of these Orders, it may be possible to eke out our scanty store of historical materials, the more precious to us, because of their very meagreness and fragmentary character.

If we find explorers as zealous, as skilful, as persevering, and as able as Dr. Moran, we cannot despair of success. We trust that his memoir of Oliver Plunket is but the first instalment of a long series. And, as the first fruit, we shall look anxiously for the promised volume of Appendix of Documents which he promises, in illustration of this valuable Memoir.

ART. IX.—*The Sisters; Inisfail; and other Poems.* By Aubrey de Vere. London : Longman and Co. 1861.

THE simultaneous appearance of Mr. Aubrey de Vere's Irish Historical Poem and of Dr. Moran's Life of Oliver Plunket, is a circumstance which we cannot help thinking of happy augury for the future of Irish History. It is not merely that the publication of two works of so high merit is in itself an indication of more than ordinary literary activity in Ireland ; nor even that both these works give promise of new vitality in the long neglected field of our national history. It is rather that both these writers, although separated from each other most widely in subject, in manner, in plan, in all that could ordinarily constitute an element of resemblance, are yet animated by a common spirit, tend in their several ways to a common purpose, and, while they differ in almost every detail as to the treatment even of what they treat in common, yet regard all from the same point of view, and only in so far as it illustrates what is, in the mind of both, the one great moral truth which underlies the whole sur-

face of the history of Ireland. Nothing, in truth, could, in a literary point of view, be more opposite than the characters of the two works, or of the schools to which they belong. The one deals entirely with facts, the other with the theories which these facts involve. The one is mainly concerned with events, the other with their moral or poetical interpretation. The one, in a word, builds up the skeleton of the national history ; the other clothes it with form and imbues it with vitality. But both in their several tasks, have the same standing ground ; both regard it from one common point of view. And thus the material framework of facts which the one builds up is but the outward form of that inner and animating principle which is the ideal of the other. To both alike the national history of Ireland has but one meaning—the history of the national religion of Ireland.

The period, for example, over which the life of Oliver Plunket extends, comprises a succession of political changes in themselves exceedingly important, and involving consequences the influence of which has been felt in the history of most European nations even to the present day—the dethronement and execution of Charles I., the Commonwealth, the Restoration, the alternations of political party by which it was secured, and which culminated in the Revolution. Yet it is true to say that in the genuine history of Ireland these events have no place, or only a subordinate place. The true scene of that history is far less the Council-Room of Dublin Castle, or the camp of the contending armies, even of those in which the Irish party was, however inadequately, represented, than the wild mountains or the lonely bogs in which the persecuted confessors of the faith and of the cause of Ireland found their precarious refuge. The enactments and the wars of the time were really representatives of national interests only in so far as they were religious. The interest of the action, which turns but feebly upon the Ormonds or Ossorys of the political struggle, and which considers even the O'Mores and O'Neils far more as champions of religion than of country, has its true centre in the martyred bishops and priests of the Cromwellian era, or even in the less exciting picture of Oliver Plunket setting out as "Mr. Cox" on the clandestine visitation of his diocese, or in the disguise of "Captain Brown," with sword, pistols, and military wig, bearing the pallium to his brother prelate of Tuam !

Mr. de Vere, too, has felt this truth very forcibly. In his idea of a "National Chronicle in verse," towards which the present volume is his first contribution, the fundamental element is religion. "A national chronicle in verse," he writes in his admirable preface, "would necessarily, so far as it was true to the spirit of history, include what may be called the Biography of a People—its interior as well as its exterior life. The annals of Ireland were stormy and strange after the lapse of those three golden centuries between her conversion to Christianity and the Danish inroads. But there were also great compensations—Religion:—natural ties so powerful that they long preserved a scheme of society almost patriarchal; an ever-buoyant imagination; and the inspiring influences of outward nature on a temperament as susceptive as the heart was deep. After the storms had rolled by, there still remained a people and a religion. So long as its life is mainly from within, a people works out its destiny."

This idea he has fully realized. It is thoroughly congenial to his mind; and the vividness, the energy, and life-like reality which characterise many of the sketches in his charming collection, have forcibly reminded us of the saying popularly attributed to Plato, that poetry comes nearer to vital truth than history itself. Indeed, if the real function of the Poet be that of an interpreter; and if true poetry, as illustrative of individual life, feeling, and character, consist in the art of assuming a perfect identity with the individual feelings which it is sought to delineate, the historical poet can only be faithful to his calling by transferring himself entirely to the past, and imbuing himself thoroughly, not only with the manners, but with the thoughts, the sentiments, the whole moral atmosphere which belonged to it.

And happily as regards these deeper and more tender religious sympathies of a nation, few men are more capable of understanding and appreciating them than Mr. Aubrey de Vere. The readers of his *Picturesque Sketches in Greece and Turkey*, can hardly fail to recollect his description of the ruins of the ancient Eleusis and Delphi. We hardly ever remember to have met, within a brief space, a more faithful appreciation of the profound analogies which subsist in the ancient religions between truth and fiction—between the darkling guesses of the pagan intelligence and the Christian Revelation: a more thorough insight

into those deep religious sympathies of the human heart which vindicate themselves even in the midst of its corruption, and which, however overlaid by ignorance and passion, may still be recognised in certain mysterious and, perhaps, by the mass, unobserved, analogies, which satisfy the more elevated human instincts, and preserve in despite of every influence, a secret harmony with man's higher and holier nature;—as, for example, the unfelt recognition of the Christian principle of the holiness of sorrow in the secret worship of Ceres mourning and seeking for the lost Proserpine; in the mystery of the broken earthen vessels and the wine poured out in oblation; in the forms and ceremonies of purification and initiation; and above all, in the special selection as the place for the celebration of this the highest and purest worship of the Greek Mythology, of the temple, common and indivisible, of those two divinities who, interpreted in their elemental or physical relations, signify Bread and Wine.

Indeed this is, except in his very lightest efforts, the habitual tone of Mr. de Vere's mind; and it pervades even those of his works which have little direct bearing upon religion. His earliest poetry is marked by a profoundly religious spirit. In the natural order every object speaks to his mind in the language of religious symbolism. He rarely loses sight of the sentiment of his own sonnet:

— “A Presence that thou dreamest not of
Is here concealed. From out the air-rock'd nest
Of every leaf looks forth some dream divine.
The grass thou treadest—the weeds are cyphered o'er
With mystic traces and sybilline lore.
Each branch is precious as that golden bough
Hung by Æneas (ere he passed below)
Upon the sable porch of Proserpine.

And in the moral order, the same habit of thought seems to run through all his views and to colour all his conceptions. No one has traced more clearly in the social and intellectual characteristics of the paganism of Greece and Rome, these “broken fragments of the patriarchal revelation which preceded the Jewish religion;” the workings of that moral sense which can be seen in the records of almost every people, “running in a smaller circle parallel with Revelation.” But it is in his treatment of professedly Irish subjects that he has thrown himself with the fullest unreserve into these views, which are even otherwise

so habitual to his mind :—and this especially in his “*Inisfail*,” which he intends as “ a sort of national chronicle cast in a form partly lyrical, partly narrative, and of which the spirit is mainly dramatic.” He himself describes it in his preface as “ an attempt to represent, as in a picture, the more memorable periods of Irish History—a history as poetical as it was troubled.” The spirit in which the attempt is made will be best understood from the author’s own explanation. “In England, in Spain, and in other countries, ancient and modern,” he says, contrasting as regards the characters of their respective literatures, Ireland and the other countries of Europe, “a collection of ballads had early grown up, out of which rose the later literature of each ; ballads that recorded many a precious passage of old times, and embodied the genius as well as the manners of the past. Irish history does not stand thus related to letters. For many centuries before the Norman invasion of Ireland, and for several after that event, the Bards occupied a more important position in Ireland than they have enjoyed in any other part of the West : their dignity was next to the regal ; their influence with the people unbounded ; and they possessed all the secular learning then existing. The Gael required that even the maxims of law should be delivered to him in verse, as well as that the lines of the chiefs and princes should be thus traced. The influence of the Priest alone equalled that of the Bard, and between these two orders a rivalry often existed. We have the testimony of Spenser as to the merit of the Bards and their social influence in the sixteenth century ; and in the eighteenth, those of Munster alone, bards of a very inferior quality, counted like the harpers by scores. Even at the present day on the western coasts of Clare and Connaught numberless poems handed down orally, perhaps for above a thousand years, though in a dialect gradually modified, are recited to village listeners on the long evenings of summer. They relate chiefly to Ossian, his father Fionn, and the Fenian chiefs, or heads of the old militia of Ireland. Some of these have recently been published with translations by the Ossianic Society, and also, in a delightful book called ‘Oisin,’ by Mr. Hawkins Simpson. But for all save the few a whole poetical literature has perished, and with it the most vital part of a history admirable for the variety and pathos of its details, and for the manner in which it

exhibits the finer together with the more barbaric traits of a society rude rather because it had degenerated than because it had not yet attained to civilization. Nowhere in Ireland can we move without being challenged by the monuments of the past ; yet for the majority of her sons, as well as for the traveller, their exists no Alfred and no Wallace."

It was hardly necessary to offer an apology for a project which has enriched our scanty store of national ballads with such contributions as those embodied under the general title of "Inisfail." But if there be any who doubt the value of modern ballads upon ancient subjects, Mr. de Vere has an ample justification in the poetry of every modern literature without exception. "National ballads," he says, "are doubtless most valuable when contemporary with the events they describe ; yet the literature of England has not remained contented with its ancient stores alone. Sir Walter Scott added ballads of his own to the Border Minstrelsy, and in those of Lord Macaulay and of Professor Aytoun, the Puritans and Cavaliers sing their hate or love in language as vivid as they could have done in the days of Cromwell. Some advantages, moreover, belong, or might at least belong, to historical poems produced at a date later than that of the events they record. Contemporary ballads touch us with a magical hand, but their foot is strangely vagrant and capricious ; they often pass by the most important events, and linger by the most trivial. Looking back upon history, as from a vantage ground, its general proportions become more palpable ; and the themes which naturally suggest themselves to the poet are either those critical junctures upon which the fortunes of the nation turned, or else such accidents of a lighter sort as especially illustrate the character of a race. An historical series of poems thus becomes possible the interest of which is continuous, the scope of which has a unity, and the course of which reveals an increasing significance."

His own "Inisfail" therefore is an attempt to reproduce in verse such a series of historical ballads, lyrical, narrative, as might be supposed to have come down to us from the bards of the olden time, had we possessed any written relics of the Bardic lore of Ireland. The collection of subjects by no means professes to be complete or continuous, and indeed, almost the only exception we can take to the exe-

cution of Mr. de Vere's task is the seeming absence of order, or of any recognized principle of selection in the themes which he has grouped under the several periods into which his chronicle is divided. In a fragmentary work, however, such as Mr. de Vere's is at once understood to be, this is of comparatively little importance; and unhappily, as regards Irish history generally, it is chiefly in the fragmentary form that it is possible to reconstruct it.

The period which the present poems are intended to illustrate is a dark and painful one. These are national records of which it is said with much truth that

"History but counts the drops as they fall from a nation's heart." It embraces the time included between the latter part of the twelfth and the latter part of the eighteenth century; that is from the English Invasion downwards; though there are many scattered pieces founded upon events of an earlier period, Pagan as well as Christian. The whole interval, however, is divided into three Epochs, which are represented by the three Parts into which the series is distributed. The first of these extends from the Invasion to the reign of Henry VIII. and is mainly intended to illustrate the condition of the native Irish race under the absolute rule of the great English lords, unfettered in their absolutism, whether by the ancient laws of Ireland, which they had abrogated, or by the laws of England, the benefit of which they refused to extend to the Irish people. The second reaches to the Revolution, and comprises the religious struggles through the reigns of Henry, Elizabeth, and James, the Commonwealth, and the Restoration. The last is the period of the Penal Laws.

The whole plan of the book is shadowed out in a strange, but most striking piece, entitled "The Three Woes," which describe severally the three periods above referred to;—in the first of which the Irish, "without Laws, should flee as beasts of the forest;" in the second, Faith should bring not peace but a sword; while in the third, "the Laws should rend them like sharp-fangled eagles."

"THE THREE WOES.

The Angel whose charge is Eire sang thus o'er the dark isle winging :—
 By a virgin his song was heard at a tempest's ruinous close :
 'Three golden ages God gave while your tender green blade was
 springing :'
 'Faith's earliest harvest is reap'd. To-day God sends you three Woes.'

“‘ For ages three, without Laws ye shall flee as beasts in the forest :
 ‘ For an age, and a half age, Faith shall bring not peace but a sword :

‘ Then Laws shall rend you, like eagles, sharp-fang'd, of your scourges the sorest :—

‘ When these three Woes are past look up, for your Hope is restored.

“‘ The times of your woe shall be twice the time of your foregone glory :

‘ But fourfold at last shall lie the grain on your granary floor’—

—The seas in vapour shall fleet, and in ashes the mountains hoary:

Let God do that which He wills. Let His servants endure and adore !”—p. 248.

We shall best illustrate the spirit in which these three periods are treated, by a specimen from each.

The first, the Invasion, is fitly opened by the following

“ WARNING.

A. D. 1170.

“In the heaven were portents dire ;
 On the earth were sign and omen :
 Bleeding stars and falling fire
 Dearth and plague foretold their coming.
 Causeless panics on the crowd
 Fell, and strong men wept aloud :—
 Ere the Northmen cross'd the seas,
 Said the bards, were signs like these.

“ Time was given us to repent :
 Prophets challeng'd plain and city :
 But we scorn'd each warning sent,
 And outwrestled God's great pity.
 'Twixt the blood-stain'd brother bands
 Miterd Laurence raised his hands,
 Raised Saint Patrick's cross on high :—
 We despised him ; and we die.”—p. 136-7.

Never, not even in the most passionate of the Moorish ballads of Granada, has the fall of a race been more touchingly mourned than in the magnificent stanzas on the battle of Athunree, in 1316—the last struggle of the house of O'Connor. It is well called

V "THE DIRGE OF ATHUNREE.

"A. D. 1316.

"Athunree! Athunree!
 Erin's heart, it broke on thee!
 Ne'er till then in all its woe
 Did that heart its hope forego.
 Save a little child—but one—
 The latest regal race is gone.
 Roderick died again on thee,
 Athunree!

"Athunree! Athunree!
 A hundred years and forty-three
 Winter-wing'd and black as night
 O'er the land had track'd their flight:
 In Clonmacnoise from earthly bed
 Roderick raised once more his head:—
 Fedlim floodlike rush'd to thee,
 Athunree!

"Athunree! Athunree!
 The light that struggled sank on thee!
 Ne'er since Cathall the red-handed
 Such a host till then was banded.
 Long-hair'd Kerne and Galloglass
 Met the Norman face to face;
 The saffron standard floated far
 O'er the on-rolling wave of war;
 Bards the onset sang o'er thee,
 Athunree!

"Athunree! Athunree!
 The poison tree took root in thee!
 What might naked breasts avail
 'Gainst sharp spear and steel-ribb'd mail?
 Of our Princes twenty-nine,
 Bulwarks fair of Connor's line,
 Of our clansmen thousands ten
 Slept on thy red ridges. Then—
 Then the night, came down on thee,
 Athunree!

"Athunree! Athunree!
 Strangely shone that moon on thee!
 Like the lamp of them that tread
 Staggering o'er the heaps of dead,
 Seeking that they fear to see.

[Aug.]

Oh that widows' wailing sore!
 On it rang to Oranmore;
 Died, they say, among the piles
 That make holy Arran's isles:—
 It was Erin wept on thee,
 Athunree!

“Athunree! Athunree!
 The heart of Erin burst on thee!
 Since that hour some unseen hand
 On her forehead stamps the brand.
 Her children ate that hour the fruit
 That slays manhood at the root;
 Our warriors are not what they were;
 Our maids no more are blithe and fair;
 Truth and Honour died with thee,
 Athunree!

“Athunree! Athunree!
 Never harvest wave o'er thee!
 Never sweetly-breathing kine
 Pant o'er golden meads of thine!
 Barren be thou as the tomb;
 May the night-bird haunt thy gloom,
 And the wailer from the sea,
 Athunree!

“Athunree! Athunree!
 All my heart is sore for thee,
 It was Erin died on thee,
 Athunree!”—p. 170.3.

In the second division of *Inisfail* there is another wail almost equally wild and mournful. It is entitled “*Roisin Dubh*;” “Black Little Rose”—one of the allegorical names by which the bards designated Ireland. But here the mourner no longer bewails the fallen nationality of his country. The sorrow which finds a voice in “*Roisin Dubh*” is for the oppressed and suffering Church of Ireland.

“O Who art thou with that queenly brow
 And uncrown'd head?
 And why is the vest that binds thy breast,
 O'er the heart, blood-red?
 Like a rose-bud in June was that spot at noon
 A rose-bud weak;
 But it deepens and grows like a July rose—
 Death-pale thy cheek!

“ ‘ The babes I fed at my foot lay dead ;
 ‘ I saw them die :
 ‘ In Ramah a blast went wailing past;
 ‘ It was Rachel’s cry.
 ‘ But I stand sublime on the shores of Time,
 ‘ And I pour mine ode,
 ‘ As Myriam sang to the cymbals’ clang,
 ‘ On the wind to God.

 “ ‘ Once more at my feasts my Bards and Priests
 ‘ Shall sit and eat ;
 ‘ And the Shepherd whose sheep are on every steep
 ‘ Shall bless my meat!
 ‘ Oh, sweet, men say, is the song by day,
 ‘ And the feast by night;
 ‘ But on poisons I thrive, and in death survive
 ‘ Through ghostly might.’ ”—p. 193-4.

Equally touching and in the same spirit is a little piece supposed to represent the same date.

“ PLORANS PLORAVIT.

“ A. D. 1583.

“ She sits alone on the cold grave stone
 And only the dead are nigh her;
 In the tongue of the Gael she makes her wail :—
 The night wind rushes by her.

 “ ‘ Few, O few are the leal and true,
 ‘ And fewer shall be, and fewer;
 ‘ The land is a corse;—no life, no force—
 ‘ O wind, with sere leaves strew her!
 ‘ Men ask what scope is left for hope
 ‘ To one who has known her story :—
 ‘ I trust her dead ! Their graves are red;
 ‘ But their souls are with God in glory.’ ”—p. 192.

There is in both of these most touching pieces, rising up from the very depths of that despair of human aid which they breathe, that strong sense of Christian hope, and that firm reliance on God’s providence, which have at all times characterised the sorrow of our country, and which, to a philosophical observer of her destinies, may appear to be a gift, which, in the supernatural order, somewhat resembles those “ compensations ” in the order of nature on the wonders of which naturalists love to dwell. Its true foundation lies deep in the hearts of our people. It is a marvel to those who know not their character ; but Mr. de Vere has not failed to interpret it justly.

"Men ask what scope is left for hope
 To one who has known her story:—
 I trust her dead! Their graves are red;
 But their souls are with God in glory."

As some relief to the gloomy tone of these extracts, we pass to a short but highly characteristic piece appertaining to the same period, which appears to us the very ideal of the class of composition to which it belongs—the War Song of MacCarthy.

"Two lives of an eagle, the old song saith,
 Make the life of a black yew-tree;
 For two lives of a yew-tree the furrough's path
 Men trace, grass-grown on the lea;
 Two furroughs they last till the time is past
 God willeth the world to be;
 For a furrough's life has Mac Carthy stood fast,
 Mac Carthy in Carbery.
 "Up with the banner whose green shall live
 While lives the green on the oak!
 And down with the axes that grind and rive
 Keen-edged as the thunder stroke!
 And on with the battle-cry known of old,
 And the clan-rush like wind and wave;—
 On, on! the Invader is bought and sold;
 His own hand has dug his grave!"—p. 195.

"The Bier that Conquered" will serve as an example of Mr. de Vere's manner of treating the isolated incidents of our annals,* without sacrificing the common spirit of the history, and of the skill with which he maintains the harmony of tone and the identity of moral teaching, even where continuity of narrative is wanting. According to Mr. de Vere's explanation of this ballad, (which is founded on the romantic story of one of the princes of Tirconnell in the twelfth century, Godfrey O'Donnell,) "Maurice Fitzgerald, Lord Justice, marched to the north-west, and a furious battle was fought between him and Godfrey O'Donnell, Prince of Tirconnell, at Creadran-Killa, north

* We have advisedly confined ourselves to the *strictly historical* portions of Mr. de Vere's volume; but no reader who may take it up will stop here. "The Sisters" is a most charming picture of what has passed under our own eyes, and exhibits most touchingly all the best qualities of Irish character in our own day.

of Sligo, A.D. 1257. The two leaders met in single combat and severely wounded each other. It was of the wound he then received that O'Donnell died soon after, after triumphantly defeating his great rival potentate in Ulster, O'Neill. The latter, hearing that O'Donnell was dying, demanded hostages from the Kinel Connell. The messengers who brought this insolent message fled in terror the moment they had delivered it;—and the answer to it was brought by O'Donnell on his bier. Maurice Fitz Gerald finally retired to the Franciscan monastery which he had founded at Youghal, and died peacefully in the habit of that order."

The scene is highly dramatic, and is admirably rendered in the following stanzas.

"THE BIER THAT CONQUERED ;

"OR, O'DONNELL'S ANSWER.

"A. D. 1257.

" Land which the Norman would make his own!
 (Thus sang the Bard 'mid a host o'erthrown
 While their white cheeks some on the clench'd hand propp'd,
 And from some the life-blood scarce heeded dropp'd)
 There are men in thee that refuse to die,
 And that scorn to live, while a foe stands nigh!

" O'Donnell lay sick with a grievous wound:
 The leech had left him; the priest had come;
 The clan sat weeping upon the ground,
 Their banners furl'd and their minstrels dumb.

" Then spake O'Donnell, the king: ' Although
 ' My hour draws nigh, and my dolours grow;
 ' And although my sins I have now confess'd,
 ' And desire in the land, my charge, to rest,
 ' Yet leave this realm, nor will I nor can,
 ' While a stranger treads on her, child or man.

" ' I will languish no longer a sick man here :
 ' My bed is grievous ; build up my Bier.
 ' The white robe a king wears over me throw;
 ' Bear me forth to the field where he camps—your foe,
 ' With the yellow torches and dirges low,
 ' The heralds his challenge have brought and fled :
 ' The answer they bore not I bear instead.
 ' My people shall fight my pain in sight,
 ' And I shall sleep well when their wrong stands right.'

"Then the clan to the words of their Chief gave ear,
 And they fell'd great oak-trees and built a bier;
 Its plumes from the eagle's wing were shed,
 And the wine-black samite above it they spread
 Inwoven with sad emblems and texts divine,
 And the braided bud of Tirconnell's pine,
 And all that is meet for the great and brave
 When past are the measured years God gave,
 And a voice cries 'Come' from the waiting grave.

"When the Bier was ready they laid him thereon :
 And the army forth bare him with wail and moan :
 With wail by the sea-lakes and rock abysses ;
 With moan through the vapour-trail'd wildernesses ;
 And men sore-wounded themselves drew nigh,
 And said, 'We will go with our king and die ;'
 And women wept as the pomp pass'd by.
 The sad yellow torches far off were seen ;
 No war-note peal'd through the gorges green ;
 But the black pines echo'd the mourners' keen.

"What, said the Invader, that pomp in sight?
 'They sue for the pity they shall not win.
 But the sick king sat on the Bier upright,
 And said, 'So well! I shall sleep to-night :—
 'Rest here my couch, and my peace begin.'

"Then the war-cry sounded—'Bataillah Aboo !'
 And the whole clan rush'd to the battle plain:
 They were thrice driven back, but they form'd anew,
 That an end might come to their king's great pain.
 'Twas a people not army that onward rush'd ;
 'Twas a nation's blood from their wounds that gush'd :
 Bare-bosom'd they fought, and with joy were slain ;
 Till evening their blood fell fast like rain ;
 But a shout swell'd up o'er the setting sun,
 And O'Donnell died, for the field was won.

So they buried their king upon Aileach's shore ;
 And in peace he slept ;—O'Donnell More."—p. 164-6

The Third Part of Inisfail presents greater variety, and is full of picturesque beauty. The latter portion especially appears to us singularly felicitous. We are much struck by the skill with which the transition is managed, and with which the dawn of hope, first faintly exhibited, is made gradually to grow upon the reader, till at length his eye has been prepared for the full light of the day which is to come. We must find space for one or two examples of

this before we close. The following exquisite piece will be understood in contrast with one of the previous extracts.

The little Black Rose shall be red at last :—

What made it black but the March wind dry,
And the tear of the widow that fell on it fast?—
It shall redder the hills when June is nigh!

"The Silk of the Kine shall rest at last ;—

What drove her forth but the dragon fly?
In the golden vale she shall feed full fast
With her mild gold horn, and her slow, dark eye.

"The wounded wood-dove lies dead at last !

The pine long-bleeding, it shall not die!
—This song is secret. Mine near it pass'd
In a wind o'er the stone plain of Athenry."—p. 293.

But the most beautiful and, in our judgment, the most magnificent piece in the entire Third Part is what may be regarded as a poetic resumé of the past religious history of Ireland, with a half dreaming, half prophetic forecasting of her future destiny, entitled, "All Hallows ; or the Monk's Dream." The introduction is highly poetical.

"I trod once more the place of tombs :

Death-rooted elder, full in flower,
Oppress'd me with its sad perfumes,
Pathetic breath of arch and tower.
The ivy on the cloister wall
Waved, gusty, with a silver gleam :
The moon sank low : the billows' fall
In moulds of music shaped my dream.

"In sleep a funeral chaunt I heard,

A 'de profundis' far below;
On the long grass the rain-drops stirr'd
As when the distant tempests blow.
Then slowly, like a heaving sea,
The graves were troubled all around;
And two by two, and three by three,
The monks ascended from the ground."

In this vision, which rises before the eye of the seer, is shadowed forth the entire story of his country's long ages of suffering and humiliation.

*"From sin absolved, redeem'd from tears,
There stood they, beautiful and calm,
The brethren of a thousand years,
With lifted brows and palm to palm!*

On heaven they gazed in holy trance ;
 Low stream'd their aged tresses hoar :
 And each transfigured countenance
 The Benedictine impress bore.
 "By angels borne the Holy Rood
 Encircled thrice the church-yard bound :
 They paced behind it, paced in blood,
 With bleeding feet but foreheads crown'd;
 And thrice they sang that hymn benign
 Which angels sang when Christ was born,
 And thrice I wept ere yet the brine
 Shook with the first white flakes of morn.

"Down on the earth my brows I laid ;
 In these, His saints, I worshipp'd God :
 And then return'd that grief which made
 My heart since youth a frozen clod.
 'O ye,' I wept, 'whose woes are past,
 Behold these prostrate shrines and stones!
 'To these can Life return at last?
 'Can Spirit lift once more these bones?' "

But his doubting faint-heartedness is speedily rebuked.

"The smile of him the end who knows
 Went luminous o'er them as I spake ;
 Their white locks shone like mountain snows
 O'er which the orient mornings break.
 They stood : they pointed to the west:
 And lo ! where darkness late had lain
 Rose many a kingdom's citied crest
 Heaven-girt, and imaged in the main!

"'Not only these, the fanes o'erthrown
 Shall rise,' they said, 'but myriads more
 'The seed—far hence by tempests blown—
 Still sleeps on you expectant shore.
 'Send forth, sad Isle, thy reaper bands!
 Assert and pass thine old renown:
 'Not here alone—in farthest lands
 For thee thy sons shall weave the crown.'

"They spake ; and like a cloud down sank
 The just and filial grief of years;
 And I that peace celestial drank
 Which shines but o'er the seas of tears.
 Thy mission flash'd before me plain,
 O thou by many woes anneal'd!
 And I discern'd how axe and chain
 Had thy great destinies sign'd and seal'd!

" That seed which grows must seem to die :—
 In thee when earthly hope was none,
 The heaven-born faith of days gone by,
 By martyrdom matured, lived on ;
 Conceal'd like limbs of royal mould
 'Neath some Egyptian pyramid,
 Or statued shapes in cities old
 Beneath Vesuvian ashes hid."

And even the miseries of his country—her baffled hopes and ineffectual struggles—are shown in their true significance ;—historical evidences that it is only from God the redemption is to come.

" For this cause by a power divine
 Each temporal aid was frustrated :
 Tirone, Tirconnell, Geraldine—
 In vain they fought : in vain they bled.
 Successive, 'neath th' usurping hand
 Sank ill-starr'd Mary, erring James :—
 Nor Spain nor France might wield the brand
 Which for her own Religion claims.

" Arise, long stricken ! mightier far
 Are they that fight for God and thee
 Than those who head the adverse war !
 Sad prophet! raise thy face and see !
 Behold, with eyes no longer wrong'd,
 By mists the sense exterior breeds,
 The hills of heaven all round thee throng'd
 With fiery chariots and with steeds !

" The years baptized in blood are thine ;
 The exile's prayer from many a strand ;
 The wrongs of those this hour who pine
 Poor outcasts on their native land :
 Angels and saints from heaven down-bent
 Watch thy long conflict without pause ;
 And the most Holy Sacrament
 From all thine altars pleads thy cause !

" O great through Suffering, rise at last
 Through kindred Action tenfold great !
 Thy future calls on thee thy past
 (Its soul survives) to consummate.
 Let women weep; let children moan:
 Rise, men and brethren, to the fight :
 One cause hath Earth, and one alone :
 For it, the cause of God, unite !

"Hope of my country! House of God!
 All-Hallows! Blessed feet are those
 By which thy courts shall yet be trod
 Once more as ere the spoiler rose!
 Blessed the winds that waft them forth
 To victory o'er the rough sea foam;
 That race to God which conquers earth—
 Can God forget that race at home?"—p. 295-9.

We cannot help thinking that this is the very ideal of genuine religious poetry. It would be indeed difficult to condense more happily into a few stanzas the world of thoughts which must crowd upon any religious mind in contemplating this truly wonderful Institution, which has grown up, silently and almost by miracle, in the midst of us; which seems to realize, in a generation of worldliness and intellectual pride, all the marvels of the ages of Faith, and whose holy emissaries have already spread themselves over almost every region of earth, carrying to the most distant countries that sacred symbol which their fathers—"the brethren of a thousand years"—had followed through ages of persecution,

"With bleeding feet but foreheads crowned."

How wonderfully does this new growth of faith in Ireland realize Mr. de Vere's beautiful illustration:

"The seed which grows must seem to die."

To human eye it was indeed dead in Ireland; and, as far as depended on earthly influences, so it must have remained. But, to follow out Mr. de Vere's illustration, "the seed but slept on the expectant shore," and the tempests which, to man's eye, had seemed to lay the shore waste and desolate, only served in God's wise and holy designs to carry that seed to other lands—to renew in our country the mission of mercy which had once been her highest prerogative. And, while Ireland seems destined, in the new generation of "sowers going out to sow their seed," to "assert and pass her old renown," she may also cherish the humble hope that the blessing of which she is thus made the instrument to others will return tenfold to her own sorrow-stricken bosom.

"Blessed the winds that waft them forth
 To victory, o'er the rough sea foam;
 That race, to God which conquers earth—
 Can God forget that race at home?"

ART. X.—Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History, delivered at the Catholic University of Ireland, during the Sessions of 1855 and 1856, by Eugene O'Curry, M.R.I.A., Professor of Irish History and Archaeology, in the Catholic University of Ireland. Dublin and London : James Duffy. 1861.

THE publication of a reliable analytical account of the manuscripts extant in the Irish language, has long been anxiously desired by students of history and philology, on the Continent as well as in Great Britain and Ireland. The only work hitherto published on this subject was Edward O'Reilly's "Account of Irish Writers," printed in 1820, and professing to give a chronological catalogue of all the productions in the Gaelic language, with which its compiler was acquainted, or relative to which he possessed or could acquire any information.

O'Reilly deserved very high merit for the manner in which he executed this work, when we take into consideration the difficulties which he had to encounter, and the low state of native Irish learning in his day; but it is now admitted that, although skilled in modern Gaelic, he was comparatively unacquainted with the language of the Irish documents of the more remote times. The knowledge requisite for the complete and satisfactory elucidation of these obscure monuments may be said to have been in abeyance since the close of the seventeenth century, when the last hereditary professors of Gaelic learning passed away, and its recovery in our own time, is to be ascribed to the labours of the present accurate and practical school of Irish Archaeology, the foundation of which was laid by the establishment of the Antiquarian section of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland. The first movement of this department was to engage the most competent Gaelic scholars to examine the various accessible Irish manuscripts and documents with the object of compiling an historic topography of Ireland, and the value of the materials existing in the old language of the country, for such a work was displayed in the Ordnance Memoir of the parish of Templemore, in the county of Derry, published in 1837.

After the abandonment of the projected Government publication of the County Memoirs, the historical value of

the ancient Irish documents, when used by competent and discriminating investigators, was further exhibited by Dr. Petrie's Essays on the "Antiquities of Tara Hill," and on the "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," published by the Royal Irish Academy.

The foundation of the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Societies,* and the publication of O'Donovan's superb edition of the Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters, with the original text, gave a new impetus to the study of ancient Gaelic documents, which was further aided by the exertions of the Antiquarian department of the Royal Irish Academy, in forming an important collection of Irish manuscripts. The establishment of the Government Commission for translating and publishing the old Irish legal institutes, known as the Brehon Laws, has been the latest, and certainly the most important step towards throwing light on the social state and language of the ancient people of Ireland.

Throughout the entire of these labours, of which the public at large knows but little, and in the furtherance of which an exceedingly small number of the Irish wealthy classes take any interest, there have been two constant and unremitting workers, Dr. John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry, who, through fortuitous circumstances, have hitherto been enabled to devote themselves to the study of the ancient literary monuments of Ireland, of which they have thus acquired a knowledge, probably, more extensive and precise even than that possessed by the last hereditary professors of Irish learning in the seventeenth century.

Dr. O'Donovan's Grammar of the Irish Language (1845); his edition of the Annals of the Four Masters, in seven quarto volumes, and the numerous other works which he has edited, have made his name familiar to all interested in the progress of philology and Irish learning. Mr. O'Curry having been less prominently before the world of letters, we may here mention that since his first connection with the Ordnance Survey towards 1837, he has been exclusively occupied in studying and transcribing documents in the old

* For full information on the progress of native archaeology in Ireland the reader is referred to "The Historic Literature of Ireland, an Essay on the publications of the Irish Archaeological Society," by J. T. Gilbert, Esq. M.R.I.A., 8vo, Dublin, 1851.

Irish language. The ancient historic tale of the "Battle of Magh Leana," printed by the Celtic Society in 1853, was the only published volume hitherto bearing Mr. O'Curry's name, but we believe that for many years past scarcely any important work on native Irish history has issued from the press without being to some extent indebted to him for the contribution of valuable matter from Gaelic manuscript sources. The original Irish texts of the Annals of the Four Masters and of almost every Gaelic volume published by the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Societies were collated, transcribed, and prepared for the press by Mr. O'Curry, and he also compiled the copious analytical catalogues of the greater part of the Royal Irish Academy's extensive collection of manuscripts in the Irish language. His numerous transcripts of Gaelic documents—especially his elaborate fac-simile copies, executed for Trinity College, Dublin, of the ancient and complicated folio manuscripts known as the "Book of Lecain," and the "Book of Dun Doighre" will remain lasting monuments of patient labour, minute accuracy, and masterly scholarship, to be fully appreciated only by those few who know practically the great obstacles to be surmounted before such a degree of excellence can be even approached in this peculiarly obscure and difficult department of learning.

Mr. O'Curry's most important contribution to Celtic philology will undoubtedly be his collection of Irish Glosses or interpretations of obsolete and obscure Gaelic words; these he has, with minute diligence, carefully gathered from the commencement of his labours among the ancient manuscripts, and we hope that they may ere long be given to the world under the auspices of the Committee formed some time since for the production of a complete Dictionary of the Irish language.

The preceding details* sufficiently demonstrate how pre-eminently Mr. O'Curry's previous labours had qualified him for the post to which he was nominated on the foundation of the Irish Catholic University, which it should be observed, may claim the merit of having been the first educational institution in Ireland to establish a chair for

* For a further account of Mr. O'Curry's services to Irish Literature see *supra*, vol. xxiv. p. 170 and following.

the abstract study of the language and archæology of that country.

The volume now before us contains twenty-one lectures delivered by Professor O'Curry, in 1855 and 1856 treating of the contents of the most important documents extant in the Gaelic language, illustrative of the history of the natives of Ireland from the earliest period to the close of the seventeenth century.

After having remarked that historical researches occupy at the present moment a prominent place in European literature, and that in general the labours of the learned are directed to the elucidation of the past condition of their own countries, Professor O'Curry writes as follows:

"In Ireland, however, it is deeply to be regretted that as yet we have not at all adequately explored the numerous valuable monuments, and the great abundance of national records, which have been bequeathed to us by our Celtic ancestors. But if in our days the language, history, and traditions of our country and our race, are not prized by Irishmen as they ought to be, we know that this has not been always the case. Even a limited acquaintance with our manuscript records will suffice to show us how the national poet, the historian, and the musician, as well as the man of excellence in any other of the arts or sciences, were cherished and honoured. We find them indeed from a very early period placed in a position not merely of independence, but even of elevated rank; and their persons and property declared inviolate, and protected specially by the law. Thus, an *Ollamh*, or Doctor in *Filedecht* (learning), when ordained by the king or chief—for such is the expression used on the occasion,—was entitled to rank next in precedence to the monarch himself at table. He was not permitted to lodge or accept refection when on his travels, at the house of any one below the rank of a *Flaith* (or nobleman). He, that was the *Ollamh*, was allowed a standing income of twenty-one cows and their grass in the chieftain's territory, besides ample refectories for himself and for his attendants, to the number of twenty-four; including his subordinate tutors, his advanced pupils, and his retinue of servants. He was entitled to have two hounds and six horses. He was, besides, entitled to a singular privilege within his territory: that of conferring a temporary sanctuary from injury or arrest, by carrying his wand, or having it carried around or over the person or place to be protected. His wife also enjoyed certain other valuable privileges; and similar privileges were accorded to all the degrees of the legal, historical, musical and poetic art below him, according to their rank. Similar rank and emoluments, again, were awarded to the *Seanchaidhe*, or Historian; so that in this very brief reference you will already

obtain some idea of the honour and respect which were paid to the national literature and traditions, in the persons of those who were in ancient times looked on as their guardians from age to age." "Among the large quantities of MS. records which have come down to our times, will be found examples of the literature of very different periods of our history. Some, as there is abundant evidence to prove, possess a degree of antiquity very remarkable indeed, when compared with the similar records of other countries of modern Europe. Others again have been compiled within still recent times. Those MSS. which we now possess belonging to the earliest periods are themselves, we have just reason to believe, either in great part or in the whole, but transcripts of still more ancient works. At what period in Irish history written records began to be kept it is, perhaps, impossible to determine at present with precision. However, the national traditions assign a very remote antiquity and a high degree of cultivation to the civilization of our Pagan ancestors. Without granting to such traditions a greater degree of credibility than they are strictly entitled to, it must, I think, be admitted that the immense quantity of historical, legendary, and genealogical matter relating to the Pagan age of ancient Erinn, and which we can trace to the very oldest written documents of which we yet retain any account, could only have been transmitted to our times by some form of written record."

—pp. 24.

That Gaelic documents written at a very remote age should not have come down to us may, to a considerable extent, be ascribed to the casualties to which such perishable monuments were subject in a country so circumstanced as Ireland was for many centuries. The great extent of this loss may perhaps be estimated when we recollect how seriously our sources of information have been curtailed even during comparatively modern times, by the disappearance of various important Irish Manuscripts, which are known to have existed in the seventeenth century, towards the middle of which Michael O'Clerigh complained that although he had diligently searched through every part of the island he was able to meet but few of the many old books of Erin, and that only an insignificant part of her old writings were then to be found. Yet, several valuable Gaelic manuscripts known to O'Clerigh have since been lost; while, of eleven books enumerated by Dr. Geoffrey Keating as having been used by him in the compilation of his History of Ireland, about 1630, but one is now extant. Professor O'Curry, however, assures us that, notwithstanding vari-

ous apparently irreparable losses, there still exists an immense quantity of Gaelic writing of great purity and of the highest value as regards the history of Ireland.

"The collection in Trinity College [Dublin], consists of over 140 volumes, several of them on vellum, dating from the early part of the twelfth down to the middle of the last century. There are also in this fine collection beautiful copies of the Gospels, known as the Book of Kells, and Durrow, and Dimma's Book, attributable to the sixth and seventh centuries; the Saltair of St. Ricemarch, Bishop of St. David's, in the eleventh century, containing also an exquisite copy of the Roman Martyrology; and a very ancient ante-Hieronymian version of the Gospels, the history of which is unknown, but which is evidently an Irish MS. of not later than the ninth century; also the Evangelistarum of St. Moling, Bishop of Ferns, in the seventh century, with its ancient box; and the fragment of another copy of the Gospels, of the same period, evidently Irish. In the same library will be found, too, the chief body of our more ancient laws and annals: all, with the exception of two tracts, written on vellum; and, in addition to these invaluable volumes, many historical and family poems of great antiquity, illustrative of the battles, the personal achievements, and the social habits of the warriors, chiefs, and other distinguished personages of our early history. There is also a large number of ancient historical and romantic tales, in which all the incidents of war, of love, and of social life in general, are portrayed, often with considerable power of description, and great brilliancy of language: and there are besides several sacred tracts and poems, amongst the most remarkable of which is the Liber Hymnorum, believed to be more than a thousand years old. The Trinity College collection is also rich in lives of Irish Saints, and in ancient forms of prayer; and it contains, in addition to all these, many curious treatises on medicine, beautifully written on vellum. Lastly, amongst these ancient MSS. are preserved numerous Ossianic poems relating to the Fenian heroes, some of them of very great antiquity.

"The next great collection is that of the Royal Irish Academy, which, though formed at a later period than that of Trinity College, is far more extensive, and taken in connection with the unrivalled collection of antiquities secured to this country by the liberality of this body, forms a national monument of which we may well be proud. It includes some noble old volumes written on vellum, abounding in history as well as poetry; ancient laws and genealogy; science (for it embraces several curious medical treatises, as well as an ancient astronomical tract); grammar; and romance. There is there also a great body of most important theological and ecclesiastical compositions, of the highest antiquity, and in the purest style perhaps that the ancient Gaedhlíc language ever attained. The most valuable of these are original Gaedhlíc compositions, but there is also a large amount of translations from the

Latin, Greek, and other languages. A great part of these translations, is indeed, of a religious character, but there are others from various Latin authors, of the greatest possible importance to the Gaedhlíc student of the present day, as they enable him, by reference to the originals, to determine the value of many now obsolete or obscure Gaedhlíc words and phrases."—pp. 23-24.

Many Irish manuscripts are also preserved in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, the Imperial Library at Paris, the Burgundian Library at Brussels, St. Isidore's Library at Rome, and in various private collections in Great Britain and Ireland. At St. Gall, Wurtzburgh, Carlsruhe, Cambray, Milan, and Turin, are to be found, some of the oldest existing specimens of the Gaelic language, in the glosses or interpretations affixed to Latin words in various codices transcribed by Irish ecclesiastics of the eighth and ninth centuries. Historical investigators naturally regret that these most ancient Irish writings throw very little light on the earlier native annals of Ireland; but it is nevertheless satisfactory to reflect how much important assistance has been derived by philologists from the Latin language having been employed to gloss or interpret obsolete and otherwise unintelligible Gaelic words.

The principal Gaelic writings extant illustrative of early Irish history may be classed as follows: Ecclesiastical documents; bardic or semi-historic tales; historic tracts; genealogies; historic poems and annals. We shall, in the present paper, endeavour to bring compendiously before our readers notices of the more important unpublished works in each of these departments, premising some observations on the larger existing Irish books or miscellaneous collections compiled by native historiographers before the close of the fifteenth century from older works. Of those volumes styled by Gaelic writers "*Priomh Leabhair*" or "chief books," the most important now remaining to us are *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*; the Book of Leinster; the Book of Lecain; the Book of Dun Doighre; and the Book of Ballymote—all written on vellum, in the Irish character, and composed of documents of the classes above mentioned; including also legal and medical* tracts, and translations from other languages into

* In Part V. of the Census of Ireland for 1851, will be found the

Irish, which may be regarded rather as ancillary illustrations of, than materials for history.

The *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* was so styled from a tradition that the original from which it was partly copied had been written by St. Ciaran, in the sixth century, in a volume made from the skin of his favourite cow;—*Leabhar na h-Uidhre* signifying the Book of the Dun Cow. The volume at present known by this title is but a fragment of a larger book, and consists of 138 folio pages, collected and transcribed from various books by Melmuire, son of Celechar, whose death occurred at Clonmaenois in 1106. In the early part of the fourteenth century the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* was given by the O'Donnells of Tir-Connell, in Ulster, as a ransom for the son of the chief historian of their clan, whom the O'Conors had carried as a hostage into Connacht. Even at that distant period this manuscript appears to have wanted some leaves, as at page 35 we find an entry made in 1345, by order of Donnell O'Conor, with the object of perpetuating the name of the original compiler of "this beautiful book" (*sciamh leabhar-sa*) and invoking prayers for the repose of his soul. The volume was restored to Tir-Connell by Hugh O'Donnell "the red," when he captured the Castle of Sligo, in 1470, and compelled Lower Connacht to pay him tribute. It is now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy.

The manuscript known as the "Book of Leinster," in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, consisting of over four hundred large folio pages, appears to have been compiled early in the twelfth century, by order of the tutor of Dermot Mac Murragh, that notorious King of Leinster who brought the Anglo Normans to Ireland. In the margin of page 200 of this volume appears a memorandum made on the — day in August in the year 1166, on which Dermot was expelled from Ireland, in which the writer, evidently a retainer of that prince, deplores the hapless condition to which he has been reduced by the men of

best account extant of the Manuscripts in the Irish language on subjects connected with medicine, contributed by W. R. Wilde, Esq., M.D., Vice-President of the Royal Irish Academy, and prefixed to his valuable Chronological Tables of Cosmical Phenomena, epizootics, famines, and pestilences in Ireland, as recorded in the Irish Annals, and other reliable authorities.

Erinn having banished his patron "across the sea eastwards."

The "Book of Ballymote," in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, consists of 251 leaves or 502 pages in large folio, written chiefly by Solamh O Droma and Manus O Duigenan, at Ballymote, in the County of Sligo, A.D. 1391. This manuscript was compiled for the Mac Donoughs, Lords of Corann in Sligo, who, in 1522, sold it to Aedh O'Donnell, surnamed *Dubh*, or the swarthy, for one hundred and forty milch cows; this circumstance is recorded in an entry made at page 180 of the volume itself.

The *Leabhar Breac*—or Speckled book—in the Royal Irish Academy's Library, is also styled the Great Book of Dun Doighre, the latter being the name of a place on the Galway side of the river Shannon, some distance below the town of Athlone, where schools of Irish law, poetry, and literature, were anciently kept by the learned Mac Egans, one of whom appears to have written this volume about the close of the fourteenth century. The Book of Dun Doighre is an elegant specimen of calligraphy, in large folio, compiled from various writings, anciently preserved, for the most part, in the churches and monasteries of Connaught, Munster, and Leinster. Its contents, written in the purest Gaelic, are, with one exception, of a religious character, and this volume may be considered the most important repertory extant of ancient Irish ecclesiastical and theological writings.

The Yellow Book of Lecain, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, was so named from Lecain, in the County of Sligo, where it was written in 1390, by Gilla Iosa Mac Firbis; of this manuscript there are now remaining only about five hundred pages of large quarto size.

The volume generally known as the Great Book of Lecain, contains more than six hundred pages, beautifully and accurately written in 1416, in the small folio size, chiefly by Gilla Iosa Mor Mac Firbis.

In the seventeenth century the "Book of Lecain" was in the possession of Archbishop Ussher, with whose collection it came to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, whence, in the reign of James II. it was carried to France, and in 1787, through the Abbé Kearney of Paris, it was presented to the then recently founded Irish Academy, in whose Library it is now preserved.

Of the other ancient Irish miscellaneous compilations, similar in character to those already enumerated, it will suffice here to mention the "Book of Lismore," in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire; the "Book of Hy Many," or of O'Kelly's Country, in the collection of Lord Ashburnam; and the "Book of Fermoy."

The oldest extant written remains of the early Christian period in Ireland are copies of various portions of the Holy Scriptures written in the Latin tongue, in the Irish character. The most important documents of this class now preserved in Ireland are the *Domhnach Airgid* and *Cathach* manuscripts; the Books of Dioma, of Durrow, and of Kells.

The reliquary known as the *Domhnach Airgid*, or silver shrine, now in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy, contains the remains of a vellum manuscript of the Gospels, which, from extreme age, has become closely consolidated into four compact masses of a dark brown colour, from one of which two leaves have been detached, on which are written in Latin in the Irish character the commencement of the Gospel of St. Matthew. Of one of these leaves a fac-simile is given in plate A. of the work before us. Dr. J. H. Todd considers that the contractions found in this manuscript may have been in use in the fourth or fifth century; Dr. Petrie regards it as perhaps the oldest copy of the Sacred Word in existence; while Professor O'Curry tells us that we have just reason to believe it to have been the companion of St. Patrick in his hours of devotion, and adds that no reasonable doubt can exist that the *Domhnach Airgid* was actually sanctified by the hand of the Apostle of Ireland.

The manuscript preserved in the case styled the *Cathach* is a vellum fragment of a copy of the Psalms, consisting of fifty-eight membranes, originally about nine inches long by six wide, written in a small uniform Irish character, and presenting every appearance of remote antiquity. The *Cathach*, which signifies literally the "Battle Book," is traditionally believed to have been written by St. Colum Cille: the O'Donnells of Donegal retained it for centuries in its silver shrine as the great heirloom of their clan; the Apostle of Scotland having been of the race of Conall Gulban from whom they descend.

To the sixth century are ascribed the copies of the

Gospels, written in Latin in the Irish character known as the Books of Dimma; of Durrow; and of Kells, the last of which has been pronounced by competent critics to be unquestionably the most elaborately executed manuscript of early art in existence.

Although these Irish Biblical manuscripts, and others of similar age and character preserved in English and Continental Libraries contain no important matter in the Gaelic language, they constitute valuable illustrative materials for history, as specimens of that peculiar style of writing and miniature painting, long mis-named Anglo-Saxon, but which is now admitted to have originated in Ireland, and to have been brought to the highest perfection by the Celtic people of that country.

The oldest monument now known to us containing vernacular matter in connection with the history of the early Christian Church in Ireland is a small vellum volume of 221 leaves, styled the "Book of Armagh," generally believed to have been written in A.D. 807; but considered by Professor O'Curry to be older than the year 727.

The high interest attaching to the "Book of Armagh," will be appreciated when we mention that it contains in Latin, in the Irish character, the only complete copy of the New Testament which has come down to us from the ancient Irish; and in it are inscribed the earliest and most authentic memoirs of St. Patrick, written in the eighth century, the language of which, being the oldest specimen of Gaelic extant in Ireland, is invaluable to philologists.

Through the munificence of the Protestant Primate of Ireland, the "Book of Armagh" has recently become the property of Trinity College, Dublin, and we understand that it is being prepared for publication by that eminent Irish ecclesiologist, the Rev. William Reeves, Secretary of the Royal Irish Academy, well known to the learned by his elaborate edition of Adamnan's Life of St. Colum Cille.

After the "Book of Armagh" the most interesting early Irish ecclesiastical document is the *Liber Hymnorum*, or Book of Hymns in Latin and Gaelic. This beautiful manuscript, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, cannot be of later date than the ninth or tenth century, and is justly regarded as one of the most venerable monuments of Christian antiquity remaining in Europe. The Gaelic hymns and the glosses and scholia in that language

on the Latin hymns in the *Liber Hymnorum* are of surpassing interest, and we look forward anxiously to the completion of the entire of this difficult and complicated work by the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, under the able editorship of the Rev. J. H. Todd, S.F.T.C.D., who has already given us the first portion of it, containing the following Latin Hymns, with Irish scholia and glosses: the alphabetical hymn of St. Sechnall or Secundinus, in praise of St. Patrick; the alphabetical hymn in praise of St. Brigid, attributed to St. Ultan, Bishop of Ardbreccan; the Hymn of St. Cumain Fota; and the hymn or prayer of St. Mugint.

Of Saint Patrick and numerous other saints of Ireland, there are extant several lives, written in the Gaelic language at divers periods, which, with the "Festologies," abound in valuable historical, topographical, and genealogical information. The Irish Festologies, Martyrologies, or more correctly Calendars, are written in prose and verse, and contain lists of native and foreign saints, arranged under their respective festival days. Of this class are the martyrologies of Tallacht, and of Marianus O'Gorman; but by far the oldest and most important is the *Felire*, or Festology of Oengus, surnamed *Ceile Dē*, or the servant of God. This composition, completed towards the close of the eighth century, consists of three parts, two of which are poems precatory and invocatory, the latter written in *conachlann* or chain metre, in which the first words of every quatrain are identical with the last of the preceding one; the third portion of the work is the *Felire* or Festological poem of three hundred and sixty five stanzas, in which large numbers of the early Irish Christians are introduced and named on their festival days, with references to the localities and churches with which they were connected—much additional illustrative information being furnished by the accompanying copious, but complicated, ancient Gloss and scholia.

The Martyrology of Tallach, a prose Calendar of Irish Saints with many notices of their ancestors and churches, was at one time believed to be the oldest Irish Martyrology extant, but it is now generally considered to be of more recent date than the work of Oengus.

The Martyrology of Marianus Gorman or *Maolmuire O'Gorman*, abbot of *Cnoc na n-Aspal* in Louth, composed between 1156 and 1173, is a poem arranged in months,

containing verses of unequal length for every day in the year, in each of which are introduced the names of the Saints whose festivals fall upon the day to which the stanza is assigned.

The other important ancient Ecclesiastical Gaelic writings extant, in addition to the classes which we have already mentioned, consist mainly of canons, monastic and ecclesiastical rules, tracts on the Mass and the ritual; forms of prayer; litanies of the Blessed Virgin and of native Saints; commentaries upon and concordances of the Evangelists; devotional, doctrinal and moral poems.

On the study of the ancient Martyrologies and other ecclesiastical manuscripts in the Gaelic language, Professor O'Curry writes as follows:

"Passing over altogether for a moment the value of such studies in a religious point of view, we shall take them at their mere antiquarian or their purely historical value. And we may positively affirm, that it is totally impossible to know, to understand, or to write, either the civil or ecclesiastical history of Eriinn, without a deep and thorough acquaintance with those yet unpublished and unexplored documents. This is felt and acknowledged by several writers and historic investigators of our day. So that I have no hesitation in asserting, that until these national remains are thoroughly examined by competent and well qualified persons, we shall have no civil or ecclesiastical history of our country worthy of the name. But even as a matter of individual pride and gratification, indeed as a matter of intellectual enjoyment, could there be anything more agreeable to a cultivated mind than to know the origin and history of these countless monuments of the fervid piety and devotion of our primitive Christian forefathers, which are to be found in the ruined church and tower, the sculptured cross, the holy well, and the commemorative name of almost every townland and parish in the whole island? Few out of the many thousands who see those places and hear their names know any thing whatever of their origin and history; and yet there is not one of them whose origin and history are not well preserved, and accessible to those who will but qualify themselves to become acquainted with them, by a proper study of the rich and venerable old language in which they are recorded. Besides these martyrologies, and the many tracts on ecclesiastical subjects, preserved in the *Leabhar Mór Duna Doighré*, you can scarcely open an ancient Gaedhlíc manuscript without meeting one or more pieces in prose or verse, illustrative of the great principles, particular doctrines, and moral application of the Christian religion, as brought hither from Rome, and preached and established in Erinn, by St. Patrick, in perfect connection with, and submission to, the never failing chair of St. Peter."—pp. 353-4.

Next in order, according to the classification which we have adopted in the present paper, come the Historic Tales, which undoubtedly formed the popular literature of the native Irish from a very remote era. According to the Brehon laws, each *Ollamh*, or chief professor of learning in Ireland in ancient times, was bound to have for recital at public assemblies thrice fifty of these *scela* or stories; and his subordinates were by the same authority required to possess minor numbers of tales in proportion to the rank they held in the profession of learning.

The Irish Historic Tales, which narrate real historic events, poetically embellished by the introduction of imaginary personages and marvellous incidents, were divided into prime and secondary stories on the following subjects: destructions (*toghla*); cattle spoils (*tana*); courtships or wooings (*tochmarca*); battles (*catha*); caves (*uatha*); navigations (*imrama*); tragedies or deaths (*oitte*); banquets (*fessa*); sieges (*forbossa*); adventures (*echtrai*); elopements (*aitheda*); slaughterers (*airgne*); irruptions of lakes (*tomadhma*); visions (*fis*); loves (*serca*); expeditions (*sluagid*); and *tochomlada* or progresses. The titles of one hundred and eighty seven of these tales, many of which are not now extant, are given by Professor O'Curry from a list in a manuscript of the twelfth century, classified under the foregoing heads. Some learned Irish writers of, and previous to, the eleventh century refer with respect to the authority of the historic tales and poems, and it is to be regretted that of the numerous still existing productions of this class there have as yet been published but two specimens—the Battle of Magh Rath (Moira) edited by Dr. John O'Donovan; and the Battle of Magh Leana by Professor O'Curry. Until larger numbers of these compositions have been rendered accessible through the press and submitted to a thoroughly critical examination, it would be premature to pronounce on the precise historical weight to be attached to them; but there can be no question as to their very high value in illustrating the language, the literature, the manners, traditions and ideas of the old Gaels of Ireland.

The ancient Historical Tracts or detailed pieces of history resemble the historic tales in character and style but are less replete with marvellous incidents, and may be regarded as authentic narratives in the main; such are the history of the *Borama* or tribute formerly levied off Leinster; and

the history of the wars of Thomond or North Munster, compiled about the middle of the fifteenth century. Of this class of documents no specimens have yet been published, and we consequently look forward with interest to the appearance of perhaps the most remarkable of them—the history of the wars between the Gaels and the Northmen, which is now being printed under the able editorship of the Rev. J. H. Todd, D.D.

Turning next to the Gaelic books of genealogies and pedigrees, we find that the old Irish bestowed very great care on these documents, which possessed high importance during the existence of the clan government, as under that system an individual was not permitted to enjoy any lands or property unless satisfactory evidence were on record establishing his relationship to the sept of which he claimed to be a member. The greater part of the Irish genealogies go back to Eber, Eremon, Ir, and Ith, the four sons of Mileadh or Milesius, whose name was given to the colony which is stated to have acquired possession of Ireland by defeating and suppressing the Tuatha de Danaans.

The chief native families of Munster traced their pedigrees to Eber; those of Connacht and Leinster to Eremon. Another Eber was believed to have been ancestor of the races of ancient Uladh or Ulster; while Ith was regarded as the progenitor of the tribes which occupied the western districts of the present county of Cork, formerly known as *Corca Laidhe*. The numerous and complicated branchings of families from these chief heads, the divisions and subdivisions of clans, their separate and distinctly defined territories, the aggrandisement of some tribes and the reduction or migrations of others were all minutely recorded in the Irish genealogical books.

"The genealogists always made a distinction between a genealogy and a pedigree. A *Genealogy*, according to them, embraced the descent of a family and its relation to all the other families that descended from the same remote parent stock, and who took a distinct tribe name, such as, for instance, the Dalcassians. A *Pedigree* meant only the running up of the line of descent of any one of those families, through its various generations, to the individual from whom the name was derived, such as the line of O'Brian, Mac Namara, O Quinn, etc., traced up again to a more remote ancestor, such as Oilioll Oluim, without any reference to relationship with the other families descended from the same remote progenitor."

The Book of Leinster, compiled about 1130 from older writings, contains very copious and elaborate series of Irish genealogies, which are to be found augmented and continued nearly three centuries later in the Books of Lecain and Ballymote; and these are again brought down to 1650 by that learned native historiographer, Duard Mac Forbis, in his *Leabhar Genealach* or genealogical book, the latest and most perfect work of its kind. Of this book, the Irish text of which if printed would form about thirteen hundred large quarto pages, an admirable copy was made in 1836 for the Royal Irish Academy by Professor O'Curry, from the autograph manuscript in the possession of the Earl of Roden.

On a superficial view, the Gaelic genealogies might appear of little importance; but investigators accustomed to examine critical questions connected with early native Irish history well know the valuable lights supplied by the entries in the old genealogical books, which also furnish unerring means to test and corroborate the statements in the Annals and historic narratives.

The documents next in order, according to our classification, are the early native historic writers and annalists; among the former may be named Eochaidh O'Floinn, Gilla Caemhain and Flann, surnamed *Mainistreach*, from having been a teacher in the Monastery of St. Buithe, in Louth, now known as Monasterboice.

The poems of O'Floinn embody nearly the entire of the Bardic accounts of the remote history of Erin, previous to, and for many centuries after, the era assigned to the establishment of the Milesian dynasty. These subjects also form the theme of Gilla Caemhain, who died in 1072, leaving, in addition to other compositions, a chronological poem on the history of the world from the creation to his own time. Flann, of Monasterboice, has left a number of historical poems, and a collection of synchronisms from the earliest period to the time of the Emperor Leo the contemporary of Ferghal Mac Maelduin, king of Erin, A. D. 718. This work, which, after Flann's death in 1056, was carried down by an anonymous continuator to the year 1119, exhibits a large amount of general learning, remarkable in a layman of that period, and has always been referred to as a high authority by Ussher, Ware and other eminent scholars.

The most important Gaelic manuscript Annals extant

are those of Tighernach ; of Ulster ; of Kilronan or Loch Ce ; and of Connacht ; to which may be added the "Chronicum Scotorum." The entries in the Irish Annals are generally meagre and succinct in the extreme ; but their accuracy and fidelity has been found to stand the severest tests.

Of Tighernach or Tiernach little more is known than that his family name was O'Braoin, that he was of the O'Conor race of Connacht, and that he died, in 1088 Abbot of Clonmacnois, "which continued to be the seat of learning and sanctity, the retreat of devotion and solitude, and the favourite place of interment for the kings, chiefs and nobles, of both sides of the Shannon, for a thousand years after the founder's time [in the sixth century], till the rude hand of the despoiler plundered its shrines, profaned its sanctuaries, murdered or exiled its peaceful occupants, and seized on its sacred property."

Tighernach appears to have acquired very extensive erudition ; he collates the Hebrew text with the Septuagint version of the Bible ; his numerous quotations from Greek and Latin authors, and "his balancing their authorities against each other, manifest a degree of criticism uncommon in the iron age in which he lived." In his Annals he chronologises the events recorded by preceding native chroniclers with an accuracy and ability fully meriting the opinion expressed by an erudite writer—that "not one of the countries of Northern Europe can exhibit an historian of equal antiquity, learning and judgment with Tighernach."

The earlier portions of Tighernach's Annals contain but few references to Ireland, the historical epoch of which he commences with the reign of Cimbaoth and the founding of the great palace of Emania in Ulster, about the eighteenth year of Ptolemy Lagos, or 305 before Christ, to which entry a remark is appended, in every copy known to us, that "all the monuments of the Scots [Irish] to the time of Cimbaoth were uncertain."

This observation, which has been received and repeated by every late writer on early Irish history, is made the subject of a most interesting and learned disquisition by Professor O'Curry, who shews that so far as can be now ascertained, the authors from whom Tighernach is known to have drawn his materials give no countenance to such a statement, and that this, which has hitherto been accepted as the definite opinion of so valued a chronicler may have

been but a marginal gloss or observation of a scribe written long subsequent to the time of the annalist.

Seven paper copies and a vellum fragment of Tighernach's Annals are known to be extant, but they are so defective in important parts that a perfect text could not be made from them. The "Annales Tighearnachi," printed in the second volume of the "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres," are so inaccurate as to be almost valueless, but we are happy to be able to state here that an edition of Tighearnach, as complete as can be formed from all existing copies, is now in contemplation by some of the most competent Irish historic investigators.

The "Annals of Innisfallen," written in Latin and Irish, and so called from the Monastery of Inisfaithlenn, on the island of that name at Killarney, are ascribed to the learned Maelsuthain O'Carroll, prince of the Eugenian tribes of the territory of Loch Lein, in Kerry, and counsellor to Brian Borumha, who is said to have been educated under his care. O'Carroll died in 1009, and the Annals of Innisfallen were continued by an anonymous writer to the year 1213. No genuine copy of this compilation is now to be found in Ireland, the portion of the Annals extending from A.D. 428 to 1088 was printed with a Latin version by the Rev. Charles O'Conor, in 1825, from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

Cahal Mac Guire, an erudite layman of high eminence, who died in 1498, was the compiler of the Annals of Senait Mac Maghnusa, so styled because his clan or chieftain title was Mac Maghnusa, and his "residence and property lay chiefly in the island of Senait in Loch Erne, between the modern counties of Donegall and Fermanagh; and it was in this island the Annals were written. They have received the arbitrary name of the Annals of Ulster, merely because they were compiled in Ulster, and relate more to the affairs of Ulster than to those of any of the other provinces."

These Annals, which commence at A.D. 431, are extremely meagre till the beginning of the ninth century; and after the year 1000 they grow more diffuse, but the complicated intermixture of Latin and Irish in which they are written renders their correct interpretation a task of great difficulty. Extracts from a very inaccurate version in Latin and English of these Annals were published at Copenhagen in 1786, by the Rev. James Johnstone, "with

the hope that such a specimen might suggest to some Irish gentleman the idea of publishing, at least the more material part of these valuable records in the original." This expectation was not realized till the Rev. Charles O'Conor, in 1825, devoted a volume of his "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres," to an edition of a portion of the "Annales Ulsterienses," so unsatisfactorily executed as to deserve Professor O'Curry's observation, that—

"Notwithstanding the respect in which the name of Dr. O'Conor, and that of his more accurate grandfather, the Venerable Charles O'Conor, of Balenagare, are held by every investigator of the history and antiquities of Ireland, still it must be admitted, that his own writings—as regards matters in the Irish language, in his Stowe Catalogue, and in his Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores,—would require very copious corrections of the inaccuracies of text, as well as of the many erroneous translations, unauthorized deductions, and unfounded assumptions they contain."

The manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, called the "Annals of Kilronan," should, according to Professor O'Curry, be styled the "Annals of Inis Mac Nerinn," in Loch Ce, near Boyle, in the present county of Roscommon. These Annals extend from 1014, to 1571, and are more copious than any others in detailing the affairs of Connacht. The imperfect "Annals of Connacht," in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, extending from 1224 to 1562 consist of an inaccurate transcript made in the last century by Maurice O'Gorman, from a vellum manuscript now in the inaccessible collection of Lord Ashburnam. The so-called "Annals of Boyle," in the British Museum, extending from the earliest times to 1253, are exceedingly meagre, confused, and irregular. That there is no real authority for calling them the "Annals of Boyle," is shown by Professor O'Curry, who concludes that "this ancient and curious chronicle must have belonged to some Church, within Mac Dermot's country (in Roscommon), and that it probably belonged to the island of saints in Loch Cé, though we have no record of the time at which the church of that island became ruined and abandoned."

The "Chronicum Scotorum," commencing with the first ages of the world and coming down to 1113, is composed of brief and condensed entries, compiled from old native authorities, by Duard Mac Firbis, "the last of the regularly educated and most accomplished masters of the

history, antiquities, and laws, and language of ancient Erinn.

The original autograph of the "Chronicum Scotorum," written about 1650, is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, but it is unfortunately defective in some places.

The latest and most valuable collection of native Irish Annals, is the compilation of the O'Clerighs, styled the Four Masters, extending from the earliest ages to A.D. 1616. Dr. O'Donovan's elaborate edition of these Annals having made them and the history of their compilers accessible to the world, it is unnecessary to do more than refer to them in a paper confined to the notice of the *unpublished* documents of Irish history, adding however, in the words of Professor O'Curry, that "it is to this edition that, in future, every student must apply himself, if he desires to acquire only reliable information; it is, in the present state of our knowledge, the standard edition of that work, which must form the basis of all fruitful study of the history of Ireland."^{*}

The Prophecies ascribed to the great Irish Saints, Colum Cille, Berchan, Bricin, Moling and others, which have for centuries exercised an extraordinary influence on the lower classes of the native Irish, form the subject of Professor O'Curry's nineteenth and twentieth lectures, in which he says: "The practice of writing these long, and but too suspiciously circumstantial prophetic poems, and ascribing them to distinguished persons far back in our history, appears to have first sprung up in Eriu after the occurrence of the Danish invasion, at the close of the eighth century; and I may indeed add, that we have lately seen instances of the same practice continued down so late as to about the year of our Lord, 1854."

After having expressed his most mature and decided opinion on the spurious and apocryphal character of these reputed prophecies, our author says, "Our primitive saint never did, according to any reliable authority, pretend to

* Those who have not an opportunity of consulting this great work will find a useful and popular analysis of it in "The Celtic Records of Ireland," by J. T. Gilbert, Hon. Sec. of the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 8vo., Hedges and Smith, Dublin, 1852.

foretel political events of remote occurrence." "I feel it," he adds, "to be a duty I owe to my country, as well as to my creed as a Catholic, to express thus in public, the disgust which I feel, in common with every right-minded Irishman, in witnessing the dishonest exertions of certain parties of late years, in attempting, by various publications, to fasten these disgraceful forgeries on the credulity of honest and sincere Catholics as the undoubtedly inspired revelations of the ancient saints of Erinn."

Professor O'Curry concludes as follows his observations on this subject, the importance of which, we can testify, fully merited the amount of learning and research which he has bestowed upon it.

"When first I entered, in these Lectures, on the discussion of the authenticity of these 'Prophecies,' as they are called, I never intended to follow them out to the extent that I have done; but the more I examined them, the more imperatively did I feel myself called upon—as one who had spent his whole life in the perusal and comparison of the original Gaedhlic documents,—to examine them fairly and thoroughly, and, without assuming anything of dictation or dogmatism, to record my humble opinion of the degree of credence to be given to this class of compositions. Another motive, too, impelled me to come forward—the first that I am aware of to do so—to throw doubt and suspicion on the authenticity of these long talked of 'Irish Prophecies,'—I mean the strong sense I entertain of the evils that a blind belief in, and reliance on their promises have worked in this unfortunate land for centuries back. I have myself known—indeed I know of them to this day—hundreds of people, some highly educated men and women among them, who have often neglected to attend to their worldly advancement and security by the ordinary prudential means, in expectation that the false promises of these so-called prophecies—many of them gross forgeries of our own day—would, in some never accurately specified time, bring about such changes in the state of the country as must restore it to its ancient condition. And the believers in these idle dreams were but too sure to sit down and wait for the coming of the promised golden age; as if it were fated to overtake them without the slightest effort of their own to attain happiness or independence. When such has been and continues to be the belief in such predictions, and even in these modern times of peace, what must their effect have been in the days of our country's wars of independence, when generation after generation so often nobly fought against foreign usurpation, plunder, and tyranny? And in the constant application of spurious prophecies to the events of troubled times in every generation, observe that the spirit of intestine faction did not fail to make copious use of

them. So we have the blind prophet predicting that a Red Hugh O'Donnell would annihilate the Anglo-Norman power on the plains of the Liffey; but we have him adding too, that the same redoubtable hero would, to complete his triumph, burn and ravage Leinster, Munster, and Connacht also, as if for the very purpose that the common enemy should, on his next coming over the water, have less opposition to meet. And well did the astute Anglo-Normans, (as well as, indeed, their Elizabethan successors in a subsequent age,) know what use to make of these rude and baseless predictions..... And as the native Irish, for a long period after De Courcy's time, continued to be influenced by the expectation of the good or evil which these worthless predictions had promised them, so also did the enemy continue with success, either to appropriate to their own account older predictions, or to procure new ones to be made for their especial purposes in the native Gaedhlíc."—pp. 430-433.

It is desirable that these observations of Professor O'Curry should obtain the widest circulation among his humbler countrymen, who will, we trust, allow the worthless fabrications styled "Prophecies," still current among them, to sink into the oblivion and contempt they merit, and thus practically evince the value they attach to the opinion of a Gaelic scholar so eminent, and so thoroughly identified with the right thinking portion of themselves in race, religion, and political feelings.

The necessarily brief notices we have given of some of the more important of the numerous Gaelic documents still unpublished will enable our readers to form an idea of the vast amount of preliminary work to be done before any accurate history of Ireland can be commenced; and at the same time demonstrate how valueless and erroneous are all the publications hitherto put forward as "Histories of Ireland." Relative to the most gifted of those who have undertaken such compilations we are told the following anecdote by Professor O'Curry.

"The first volume of his [Moore's] History [of Ireland] was published in the year 1835, and in the year 1839, during one of his last visits to the land of his birth, he, in company with his old and attached friend, Dr. Petrie, favoured me [Professor O'Curry] with quite an unexpected visit at the Royal Irish Academy, then in Grafton Street. I was at that period employed on the Ordnance Survey of Ireland; and, at the time of his visit happened to have before me, on my desk, the Books of Ballymote and Lecain, the *Leabhar Breac*, the Annals of the Four Masters, and many other ancient books for historical research and reference. I had never

before seen Moore, and, after a brief introduction and explanation of the nature of my occupation by Dr. Petrie, and seeing the formidable array of so many dark and time-worn volumes by which I was surrounded, he looked a little disconcerted, but after a while plucked up courage to open the Book of Ballymote, and ask what it was. Dr. Petrie and myself then entered into a short explanation of the history and character of the books then present, as well as of ancient Gaedhlíc documents in general. Moore listened with great attention, alternately scanning the books and myself; and then asked me in a serious tone if I understood them, and how I had learned to do so. Having satisfied him on these points, he turned to Dr. Petrie, and said: 'Petrie, these huge tomes could not have been written by fools or for any foolish purpose. I never knew anything about them before, and I had no right to have undertaken the History of Ireland.' Three volumes of his history had been before this time published, and it is quite possible that it was the new light which appeared to have broken in upon him on this occasion that deterred him from putting his fourth and last volume to press until after several years; it is believed he was only compelled to do so at last by his publishers in 1846."—
p. 154.

The numerous and copious extracts printed in Mr. O'Curry's volume, in the original Gaelic character, from many important Manuscripts, give an uncontested weight and authority to his work, affording, at the same time, invaluable illustrations of the language at the various periods to which they belong. His admirable chronological series of facsimiles of Gaelic calligraphy from the fifth century to our own time possess the highest interest for every scholar, and will be received as a great boon by Continental Palæographers whom they will enable to identify and assign to their proper ages many Irish manuscripts hitherto lying unrecognised and obscure in foreign libraries.

That Professor O'Curry fills with eminent credit to himself and with great advantage to the institution, the chair so judiciously assigned to him in the Catholic University of Ireland, is fully testified by the lectures now before us, which embody much of the results of a life-long experience of documents in the ancient Irish language. The testimony which we willingly accord to the value and importance of Professor O'Curry's labours cannot augment the high estimation in which he has been long and deservedly held by scholars most competent to appreciate his profound acquirements as an Hiberno-Celtic

Palæographer. To many readers this volume opens a field of ancient literature completely novel both in ideas and language. An examination of the appended facsimiles of portions of the venerable Gaelic documents from which the materials of these lectures have been mainly drawn cannot fail to excite in the mind feelings of astonishment, mingled with admiration, at the protracted, patient labour and untiring zeal of the author of this work, every page of which evinces so complete a mastery over the difficulties abounding in these obscure writings, and so thorough an acquaintance with the most minute details which they record. These sentiments of admiration and astonishment will not be diminished when it is remembered that eminent workers in true literature, art, and science—whose labours would obtain for them elsewhere national respect and consideration—gain nothing in Ireland by the exercise of their talents beyond the high but unsubstantial appreciation of a very small number of cultivated men.

We wish here emphatically to impress on the educated classes of Ireland that if prompt steps be not taken to second the exertions of those who have been for some years disinterestedly engaged in endeavouring to effect the publication of the written historic monuments of their country, the day must ere long arrive when they will again become to the world the sealed books they were from the close of the seventeenth century till the knowledge required to elucidate their contents was regained by the labours of the great Gaelic scholars still spared to us; but who, in all probability will leave no successors in this ill-requited department of learning.

Let us hope, however, that the time may be at hand when educated Irishmen at home will endeavour to free themselves from the ignominious imputation under which they now too justly lie, of being the least advanced of their class in Europe, when tested by the amount of encouragement they afford to the preservation of their national records, or to the cultivation of the higher branches of art, science and literature.

ART. XI.—*The Geraldines, Earls of Desmond, and the Persecution of the Irish Catholics.* Translated from the Original Latin by the Rev. C. P. Meehan. Dublin: Duffy. 1849.

THE monarch of the forest desires to enjoy his prey in peace: he has discovered that, upon the measure of mental serenity with which his meal is eaten, depends the successful performance of various important functions, and upon them the well-doing and happiness of his existence. Since the days of Henry Fitz-Empress the Sovereigns of England have been desiring the peace of Ireland; for they also have sought to enjoy their royal repast in tranquillity; but their desire has been a grief, and their devices vanity! By some instinctive process—akin perhaps to that which regulated the royal appetite—an ingenious people invariably discovered the presence of the fang and the claw in their flesh; hence was their intractable spirit ever in remonstrance, and the banquet of their rulers always troubled. For seven hundred years, this hard dying porcupine has brought blood to the lips of the Kings of England. Hibernia Pacata—in the sense of the Rex ferarum—has ever been the desire of King and Council, Deputy and Viceroy, all this long time; and the expedients essayed to effect it have been as numerous and as various as the ministers entrusted with the government of that unintelligible country. Amongst the minor of these schemes was one, which, whatever other claims it may have upon our notice, merits admiration for its originality, its simplicity, and a certain amount of poetic sentiment which inspired and adorned it. In the voluminous history of English diplomacy, so instructive and so moral, it would be difficult to find any record of a political experiment more maturely considered, more timidly hazarded, and more precipitately abandoned, than that of which James, the 17th Earl of Desmond, was the instrument and the victim. The details of this brief episode in a great national struggle are complete from the moment when the first conception of it dawned upon the mind of Sir George Carewe, through all the misgiving with which it was slowly adopted by Sir Robert Cecyll, and most reluctantly consented to by Queen Elizabeth, till its languid termination from mere want of earnestness in all the parties concerned in it: and so utterly insignificant was

the issue of the project which had cost the English cabinet so much anxiety that the reputation of its authors was saved from any material damage by the absolute indifference of all men with regard to it.

The condition of Ireland in 1600 is too well known to permit more than the briefest allusion to it here. A rebellion, the nearest to success of the many through which Ireland had struggled, was universal throughout the land. The English were pent up within a few walled cities ; trembling at every rumour of the coming of O'Neill ; and in Munster, the Royal Commissioners, with what few forces they had, dared scarcely to venture two miles without the walls of Cork. These commissioners, Sir Henry Power, and Sir Warham St. Leger, were men best acquainted with the simplest and swiftest resources of diplomacy ; they became embarrassed, and saw no device more promising than to send armed bands to plunder, and utterly lay waste the most fertile districts of the province entrusted to their care, and of which the chieftains had incurred their suspicion. When the tidings of this prompt proceeding reached the Privy Council, the prospect of immediate and extensive demands upon the Queen's Exchequer afflicted the loyal mind of Sir Robert Cecyll, and he summoned to his counsels a man in whose sagacity and vigour he could place reliance. Sir George Carewe was invited to reduce to writing his opinion of the crisis, and of the measures fittest to be taken to avert expense and danger. Whilst this able counsellor, "in his lodgings in the minories," was anxiously balancing the chances of O'Neill against the Queen, a luminous device flashed upon his mind, which, together with the less ingenious suggestion of troops and money, he at once communicated to the minister. Scarcely to have captured Hugh O'Neill himself would Cecyll have dared to convey Carewe's proposal to the Queen ! In the mean time Power and his associate in the government of Munster, were plunging all things into confusion, and Carewe was hurried away to Ireland to supersede them and deal with rebellion as best he could. He entered upon his government in April 1600, and his first act was to demand from the retiring rulers and from their council, a report on the state of the province. Very forlorn must have appeared to him the hope of extricating his own reputation from the difficulty in which he had consented to place it ! A larger

body of English troops than had ever before been at the disposal of a President of Munster had accompanied him from Dublin ; they were outnumbered twenty-fold by the native troops that he was sent to subdue. The ordinary resources of his own genius, which were neither few nor feeble, inspired him with little confidence ; but in the device which he had brought with him from England, and which Cecyll had refused to hearken to, his own faith was unshaken, although no man else could be brought to think well, or even patiently of it. To explain to the reader the notable scheme of Sir George Carewe, and to inform him how it was that Sir Robert Cecyll shrank from the mere proposal of it to the Queen, it may be convenient to call to his recollection some of the circumstances attending the suppression of the previous great rebellion in 1583, in which Gerald, the 16th Earl of Desmond, lost the largest patrimony in the kingdom. His great possessions, considerably over half a million of acres, were forfeited to the crown, the blood of the Geraldines attainted, and the Earldom of Desmond extinguished ! But this mighty blow, crushing prince and principality, had swerved from its legitimate direction, for it so happened that, by English law, the great rebel had never been legitimately Earl of Desmond at all ! His father, James, the 15th Earl, had had a son by his first marriage, whom he had chosen to set aside by a Will in favour of Gerald, his son by a second wife ; Gerald had succeeded in forcing himself upon the country, and the English Government had found it more expedient to acknowledge a proud and fiery chieftain than to champion the legal right of a submissive and feeble rival ; but not the less was his elder brother Sir Thomas of Desmond legitimately the Earl ! And not the less was *his* son, James Fitz-Thomas, heir by English law, to every acre which the Queen had seized ; and to the Earldom of Desmond which the Queen had declared attainted ! It had been expedient to acknowledge the usurping Earl ; it continued expedient to maintain his right, for upon it depended the lapse of the noblest patrimony in Ireland to the crown, and the consequent distribution of it amongst a powerful body of gentleman-beggars who were in favour at the court ; but a day came when the expedience of this state policy was less apparent. The first act of O'Neill, on his coming into Munster, had been to summon James Fitz-Thomas to his presence, and offer

him the alternative of assuming instantly the title of Earl of Desmond, or of moving aside into the royal shadow and making place for his younger brother. James Fitz-Thomas required no time for deliberation ; he accepted his earldom at the hands of O'Neill, and was proclaimed by him lawful head of the Geraldines.

There are few personages in Irish history who inspire so great sympathy as James Fitz-Thomas, the Saxon Earl of Desmond. A sense of his own right and of his own dignity induced him to assume a position for which he was unequal. He was a truthful, honourable and brave man, but he possessed neither the fiery courage nor the abilities of his race. His childhood had been overshadowed by the might of his imperious uncle, and his manhood by the withering vengeance of the Queen, and the great ruin of his house. From the time of his uncle's fall till the arrival of O'Neill in Munster he had been a hopeless suppliant for his inheritance. The small portions of the Desmond lands that had been allotted to him were greedily coveted by one or other of the Queen's favourites, or the needy relatives of English noblemen who had cast their fortunes in Ireland, and who looked upon every acre left to a Fitz-Gerald as robbed from themselves. The consciousness of being constantly surrounded by a multitude of enemies and spies had suppressed the spirit that was needed for the command of the wild undisciplined men who flocked to his banner, and looked to find in him the daring that they remembered in his uncle. As a soldier or a political chief he contrasts disadvantageously with O'Neill and Florence MacCarthy, whose names are mostly associated with his, but history has enabled us to assert that his character, if it had less of brilliancy than theirs, had fewer blemishes.

Sir Thomas of Desmond had lived and died, with what patience he possessed, under the great robbery of his title and inheritance. He had solicited for justice, and sent his son to the court to protest against the spoliation which had been made of his property, but beyond some fair promises and the gratuity of a mark a day to his son—promised for life and paid for a year,—had gained nothing by his loyalty. There was one man in Ireland—it is difficult to believe there was more—who “found it strange” that the son should seize the first opportunity that offered to make an effort to recover the dignity and estates of his ancestors.

A man as single-minded as himself, one who was probably loyal because the Fitz-Geralds were otherwise, the bitterest enemy of his house, the same who had pursued the great Earl his uncle to his death,—Thomas, Earl of Ormond,—was, at that time in command of the Queen's forces in Ireland, and as soon as the tidings reached him that James Fitz-Thomas had joined the rebels, he wrote him a grand letter, to which, personal respect for the veteran who wrote it obtained from the young man a temperate and modest answer. These letters are now laid before the reader, not so much because that of Fitz-Thomas contains an eloquent narrative of the wrong inflicted upon his father and upon himself, as that it will remove all doubts, which it had been expedient to encourage, as to his lawful claim to the title which he assumed.

"The Earl of Ormond to James Fitz Thomas."

"James Fitz Thomas, Hit seemed to us most strange when wee hard you were combined and ioyned wth theis Leinster Traytors lately repaired into Mounster, consideringe how your father Sir Thomas alwaies contynued a dutifull subject, and did manie good offices to further Her Mats service, from wch course if you should degresse and now ioyn wth those unnaturall traytors we maie think you very unwise, and that you bring uppon yourself your owne confusion wch is th ende of all traytors; as by daylye experiance you have seene; wherefore wee will that you doe putly make your repaire unto us wheresoever you shall hear of our beinge, to lay downe your greifes and complaints, if you have anie; and if you stand in anie doubt of yourself, theis our lres shall be for you and such as shall accompanie you in your cominge and retorninge from us, your safetys, and further in your drawinge neere the place where we shalbe we will send safe conduct for you.

" Geven at the Campe of Cowlin,

" 8 Octr. 1598.

"Thomas Ormond & Ossery."

"Wee need not put you in minde of the late overthrowe of the Earle your uncle, who was plagued, wth his ptakers, by fier, sworde, and famine; and be assured if you pceede in anie traitorous actions, you will have the like ende. What Her Mats forces have done against the King of Spaine and is hable to doe against anie other enemy the world hath seen, to Her Highnes immortall fame; by wch you maie iudge what she is able to doe against you, or anie other that shall become traytors.

" To James Fitz Thomas Fitz Geralde.

" Give theis in Hast."

"James Fitz Thomas to the Earl of Ormond.

" Rt. Hon.: I receaued your Los lres wherein yor. Ho. dothe specifie that you think it verie straunge that I shoald ioyne in action wth theis gentn. of Leinster. It is soe that I have ever at all times behayed myself dutifullie and as true a subiect to Her Matie as ever laie in me; and as it is well known to yo Honr. I have showed my willingness in service against my uncle, and his adherents, wherbie I have bin partelie a meane of his destruction. Before my uncle's deseace it may be remembered by your Lo : that I have bin in England from my father cleaiming title to his inheritance of the House of Desmonde, wch is manifestlie known to be his righte, whereupon Her Matye hath pmised of her graticous favour to doe me justice upon the decease of my uncle, who then was in action, and have allowed me a marke sterl pr. diem towards my maintenance, untill her Mats further pleasure were knowne, of wch I never receaued but one years paie, and ever since my uncles decease I could gett no hearinge concerninge my inheritance of th Earldome of Desmonde, but have bestowed the same upon divers undertakers, to disinherite me for ever ; haueing all this while staied myself, in hope to be graticouslie delt wthall by Her Matie ; seeinge no other remedie, and that I could gett no indifferencie, I will follow by all the meanes I can to mainetaine my right, trusting in Th Almightye to further the same. My very good Lord I haue seene soe manie bad ensamples, in seeking of diuorse many gents. bluddely false and sinister accusations cutt off and executed to deathe, that the noblemen and cheif gentln of this province cannot thinck themselves assured of their lyves if they were contented to loose their lands and livings ; as for example Redmond Fitz Geralde, uppon the false informacon of a scurfey boy, for safeguard of his leif, was putt to death, being a gent of good callinge, being 3 score years of age, and innocent of the crime chardged wth all. Donagh McCraghe alsoe was executed upon the false informacon of a villanious Kerne, who wthin a sevennight was put to death within your Los Libertie at Clonmell, who tooke uppon his salvation all that he said against the said Donough was untrue, that he was suborned by others. Of late a poore cosen of ours James Fitz Morrys of Mochollapa is soe abominable dealt wthal, upon the false information of an Englischman, accusinge him of murder, who never drew sworde in anger all the daies of his leife, and is manifestlie knowne that he never gave cause to be suspected of the like ; Pierce Lacie who was an ernest servitor, and had the killinge of Rory McMorogho and the apprehension of Morogho Oge till he left him in the geoale of Limerick, and after all his services was driven for the sauegarde of his leif to be a fugitive. To be briefe with yo Lo : Englishmen were not contented to have our lands and livings but unmercifullie to seeke our leives, by false and sinister meanes,

under cullor of Lawe ; and as for my prte I will prevent it the best I maie.

" Committing yo Lo. to God I am,

" Yo Honors Loveing Cosen,

Ja : Desmonde.

" From the Camp at Carrigrone,

" 12 Oct. 1588.

" To the right hono. my verie good Lo and cosen therle of
Ormond and Ossery, Lo Leuet General of her Mats forces
wthin the realme of Ireland theis to be delivered."

It is not the purpose of the present narrative to follow the course of the great struggle which ensued. In the palmiest days of his prosperity, as he afterwards acknowledged to Carewe, Fitz-Thomas numbered as many as 8,000 well armed men. Sir George Carewe might, he wrote to Cecyll that he would, have ventured to give battle to this large force, had it not been that a man as wary as himself, and whose neutrality he feared more than the open rebellion of the Sugan Earl,—for so was James Fitz-Thomas called,—lay in patient observation beyond his reach, within the fastnesses of Desmond, professing unwavering loyalty, yet in possession of all the issues of that wild country into which Carewe must have penetrated before he could bring the Geraldines to battle. The reader who follows, through the pages of the " *Pacata Hibernia*," the struggles in Munster in 1600, and who becomes interested in the fortunes of the gallant man who ventured fortune, dignity, and life upon the hazard of their success, must often be astonished that Florence MacCarthy (supposing him to have been, as that history asserts that he was, not less rebellious than Fitz-Thomas himself, and at the head of a powerful body of troops) could have received the many letters from the Sugan Earl, which are printed there, and which appeal alternately to his patriotism, his honour, and his interest for some open co-operation, and yet have made no move to join him! But in truth this sagacious chieftain understood, far better than Fitz-Thomas, the strategy of the President of Munster, and how to encounter it. At the very time when the necessities of the Earl were the most urgent, and his appeals the most touching, the Fabian policy of the man who seemed so indifferent to his danger, alone stood between him and his destruction. The troops which Florence MacCarthy had in his pay were not merely " his own people," but disci-

plined, veteran bonnaughts of Connaught, and the hereditary fighting men, the warrior septs of M'Swynies and M'Shiies, who had been for four generations—since they had been first introduced into Carbery by the son of Dermod-*au-Duna*—a regular body of trained soldiery in the service of MacCarthy Reagh. So completely had this able man succeeded within less than two years in organizing the forces of Desmond and Carbery that, as Sir George Carewe speedily ascertained, 10,000 men awaited but his word for a simultaneous rising.

The President of Munster put a brave face upon his difficulties; but in his correspondence with Cecyll he declares "that Florence MacCarthy was a dark cloud ever hanging over him." The storm grew daily darker about him; the walls of Cork circumscribed all the loyalty of Munster, and he appealed once more for a trial of the scheme which he had proposed when in England, and which had met with so little encouragement from the Privy Council. Cecyll had hoped that this perilous fancy of Carewe had been abandoned; he now found himself compelled, however reluctantly, to lay it before the Queen.

The reader, mindful of the bitter hatred of Elizabeth to the house of Desmond, may picture to himself the wrath with which she listened to a proposal—on which the President of Munster declared the safety of his province depended—to take from the Tower of London, where he had been confined from his childhood, the son of the attainted Earl, who had perished in his rebellion of 1583, to restore him in blood, and send him to Ireland! No project other than this could Carewe devise which could break up the formidable alliance of the Clan Carthy and the Geraldines. Her Majesty, though not a placable enemy, nor usually tolerant of opposition to her will, was a wiser politician than even the Solomon who succeeded her: some ominous lightnings flashed from the royal eyes, some sudden colour crimsoned the maiden cheek as the humiliating proposal was developed; but the Tudor will was stronger even than the Tudor temper! She consented that the experiment of Carewe should be tried, but she threw upon him, and upon her adviser, all the responsibility of a trial, in the success of which she had no faith. Cecyll retired from the royal presence less in love with the romantic device of Carewe than he had entered it. Whether the angry allusions of Elizabeth to the eight years' rebel-

lion of the last Desmond enlightened him a little as to the power of the mere name of a Geraldine ; whether he was reluctant to disturb the peace of mind of the undertakers, who had by this time contentedly fitted into the forfeited possessions of the late Earl ; or whether he really respected the opinion of the Queen as much as he dreaded the responsibility which she had emphatically thrown from herself upon him ; it is evident from his letters, as the reader will presently see, that he trembled more at the liberation of this young FitzGerald from the Tower than he did at any event in his political career. Had Queen Elizabeth entered with any hope or earnestness into this project of her minister, it is scarcely probable that she would have sent this young Geraldine into Ireland with the bare dignity of a restored title, without an acre of land, and with the paltry income of £500 per annum, pinched out of certain companies of soldiers "cassed" for the purpose. To succeed under such circumstances would have required an amount of energy and ability in her agent, which, had he possessed it, might have resulted in the quick transition of Sir George Carewe, the instigator of the experiment, to the lodgings in the Tower from which he was about to be taken. For the character and antecedents of the young Earl, from whose liberation Carewe hoped, and the Queen feared such great things, we look in vain through the pages of the "*Pacata Hibernia.*" Sir George Carewe may not have been acquainted with any details of the previous sixteen or seventeen years of his life : Cecyll and Burghley knew them but too well. The Queen must also have known them, and had they transpired, he would have been received in Ireland perhaps with as much derision, certainly with more pity than he left it. The reader will remember that this youth was the son of the haughtiest, the fiercest, the stubbornest rebel that had ever risen up in Ireland. Gerald FitzGerald, the 16th Earl of Desmond, had seized the inheritance of his elder brother, and he held it as he acquired it, by the sword ; and from the day of his first encounter with the Earl of Ormond at Athmane, till his proud head was stricken off in the cabin of Gleanaguinty, by order of the same great hereditary enemy of his house, each year of his life had left a trail of blood and ashes behind it as it passed.

The reader will now need but little further guidance

from the pen that has written this introduction. The letters which trace the pitiful career of the Tower Earl from his very cradle to his grave, exist in the handwriting of the youth himself, of the statesman whose victim he was, and of the spies placed by them around him : they are laid before the reader, as the author of these pages has collected them, from the State Paper Office, and the Carewe MSS. at Lambeth. The series is complete ; every detail of this insignificant life is contained in them ; Cecyll and Carewe sustain the especial reputation which their published letters have already gained for them, and the Irish reader is enabled, with additional assurance, to judge of the characters of the statesmen by whom his country was pacified in the year of grace 1602.

The earliest notice of James FitzGerald—who may be best distinguished from another James FitzGerald, claiming also to be Earl of Desmond, by the designation of “the Tower-Earl,”—occurs in a letter written by the Earl of Leicester to the boy’s father, shortly previous to his breaking out into rebellion : the next is after a lapse of ten years, when the great rebel—the ingens rebellibus exemplar—had been subdued and slain, and the authorities of Dublin shrank from the responsibility of keeping charge of such a prisoner. These early letters are chiefly interesting by their deciding the precise duration of his dreary imprisonment : they shew us that he spent sixteen years in the Tower ! and that when he landed in Ireland, although infirm of purpose as a child, he must already have reached his thirtieth year.

“The Earl of Leycester to the Farl of Desmond.

“Yor L’s request lykewise for the presentinge of yor sonne to Her Matie, I have also accomplished. Her Highnes accepteth of him, and taketh yor offer of him in very good pt, as I have signified by lres to my Lady yor Wyfe, and bycause he is yet to yonge to be brought hither, Her Matie hath taken ordre for his plasinge until he shal be fit to be removed.

“At the Corte the xviii of June, 1573.

“Yor lovinge frend

“R. Leycester.

“1583. Nov. 17.

“The Lords Justices to the Lords of the Privy Council.

“Post scriptum.

“Our verie good LL. for that we acompt Desmond’s sonne here in the Castell to be a prisoner of greate chardge, and that manie

escapes have ben made hearehence (thoughe not in our tyme), we wyshe, for the better assueraunce of hym, that Her Matie myghte be persuaded to remoue hym hence unto the Towre of London, wch notwithstandinge, we leue to yor LL's grave consideracon.

" 1584. July 9.

" *From Treasurer Wallop to Walsyngham.*

" My Lo : Deputie hath sent the Erles of Desmond and Clancarty their sonnes to the Courte, by tow of my men, whome I beseche yo to dischardge as sone as they com to the Court wth them."

What the men of Munster would expect from the lion's whelp when a few years should have passed over, it is not difficult to conjecture ; but it needs evidence clear and strong to conviue us of the transformation of this young lion into a lamb. James Fitz Gerald was the godson of Elizabeth ; had he been her own child it is doubtful whether she would have scrupled to send the offspring of such a father to the Tower as she did. The secret history of the boyhood of this unfortunate Geraldine has been well kept for 270 years ; it has, notwithstanding, been in existence all this time ; but the Tower held it as it had held him, and official men have till now guarded the shadow as they guarded the slender sickly form that cast it.

When the Tower gates once closed upon a prisoner it was seldom that the outer world knew aught more about him. Whether he lived in cold and utter darkness ; whether he were clothed like other men, or loaded with chains ; whether his diet were bread and water, or whether he were allowed an establishment of cooks and confectioners ; whether he were tortured, or left in peace ; no one knew ! Yet all these things were periodically reported to the Privy Council : not that that august body was supposed to concern itself with the comfort of the traitors whom they incarcerated, but because bare subsistence, much more the comfortable maintenance of a prisoner cost money ; this money was advanced by the Lieutenant of the Tower, and reclaimed by him by a document detailing his outlay. From these documents, some few of which have fortunately escaped destruction, we learn the precise treatment in health and sickness of all who enjoyed the hospitality of Her Majesty's Lieutenant of the Tower of London. We learn indeed incidentally other things ; the price of every article of clothing as they

chanced to be supplied to noblemen or paupers: the cost of a hat, of a bible, of chains, bolts, and locks. The charges relative to the infant state prisoner, Mr. James Garolde, were not of this description. Alas! the earliest and the latest, and all between them, were alike; they were apothecary's bills! The first of a long series bears no date, but was doubtless sent in some time in 1588. The contents of it are no ordinary items; they have no reference to the ailments of childhood, but show a miserable diseased body, and prepare us for all that followed.

"A note of all suche chardges laide unto the use of Mr. James Garolde as shall appear followinge.

Imprimis paide for ij Bottells of Serope of iij pints apeace at	s. d.
Item j unnce of the Beste Rubarbe at	xij iiiij
Item iij Bottells of diet Drinke of a Pottell apeace at	xij iiiij
Item ij Doiltes perfumed for his hed at	x vj
Item ij pourgatives	vj viij
Item iiiij ownces of perfumed Lossengis for his eare	x vj
Item iiiij ownces of Serope for his nostrells at	vij viij
Item iiiij ownces of Unguento for his eare at	vj vj
Item iiiij ownces of Implaster for his eare at	v iiiij
Item iiiij ownces of Pilles of Masticgini	vij x
Item ij drames of Pillemics	v viij
Item j drame of Trossies de terra sigilata	ii vj
The Holle some of chardges at vli. os. vjd. xixs. vjs.	

I stande to yor Honors Rewarde for my paines
taken in curinge of Mr. James Garolde at yor
Honors pleasure.

Yor Lordeshipes to commande DURINGE Liffe.

John Robertes—Surgion.

Totlis vli. vij. od.

Owin Hopton."

Before directing the reader's notice to the active career of this sickly phantom—if any single act of his languid existence can be called active—it may be well to lay before him some few more extracts from the bills of the various Lieutenants of the Tower of London, which would, better than any suspicion of his loyalty, have justified the misgivings of Elizabeth and Cecyll, when, by the urgency of Carewe, their consent was extorted for taking him from his tutor and his doctor, and sending him amongst the wild spirits of his native land.

"The Demaundes of Sir Owyn Hopton Knight Lewitennant to Her Majesties Tower of London for the Diette and other chardges

of Prisonurs in his custodie from the Nativitie of Our Saviour Christe laste paste 1588 till Th annunciacon of our Blessed Ladye the Virgyn then next followinge beeinge won quarter of a yeare, as hereafter is pticularly declared—

James Fitz Garalde

Imprimis For the Diette & other chardges of James Fitz Garolde from ye xxv. of December mdlxxxvij (1588) till the xxvj. of March then nexte followinge beeing xij weeks at xxs. the weeke for himselfe—xijli.

Item. For his Appell at xxxl. the yeare vijli. xs.

Item. For the dyet of his Scholemaster at xxli. the yeare vli.

Item. For the wadges of his scholemr. at xijli. vjs. viij the yeare, iijli. vjs. viij

Item. For the wadges of my servant

Attending on him at vli. the year xxvs.

Somma xxxli. o xxd."

A similar account was sent in for the period intervening between the 24th of June 1589 and 24th of December then next following. The next bill that is extant refers to a period considerably later. The name of this poor boy figures as usual at the head of the list of prisoners ; but the items reveal considerable changes both in his health and position. The Lieutenant of the Tower is changed ; Sir Michael Blount has succeeded Sir Owen Hopton ; and, from a trait incidentally mentioned of him by Florence Mac Carthy, who was also in the Tower at the time, it is to be feared that he was a hard and punctilious man, and may have proved a less indulgent keeper to the boy whose whole chance of comfort or recreation lay in his hands. Young Fitz-Gerald still continues under the tuition of his schoolmaster ; but he is passing from childhood to youth, and we now, for the first time, see the items following.

" Imprimis, from 25th of March now laste paste 1595 untill the 24th daye of June then nexte followinge, &c.

For the diette of his servaunt duringe that time, at vjs. the weeke, iijli. vjs. viij

Item for fewell and lights duringe the same tyme at vjs. viij the weeke, iijli. vjs. viijd.

Item for his keeper that tyme at vjs. the weeke, viijli. vjs. 8d."

Now, too, appears a melancholy item in these bills which never hereafter fails, viz. the charge for his " Surgeon," for Dr. Noel his physician, and for his physic bills. Indeed, into such deplorable health had the prisoner fallen

that these functionaries were taken into as regular pay, and at as fixed salaries as the schoolmaster: besides these, his staff included also an apothecary.

"Mr. Fitz Geraldes Surgion. For his quarter's allowance frome the said 25 March 1595 untill the 24th of June then nexte followinge beeinge one whole Quarter of a Yeare, xls.

Item Geven unto Dr. Nowell for his commynge and counsail in physicke unto Mr. James Fitz Geralde at diverse and soundrie tymes in halfe a yeare .xxxs."

The Lieutenant of the Tower is again changed. It is now, at the Christmas of 1595, Sir Drew Drury. The Bills continue unvaried; diett, fewell, servants, appell, scholemaster, surgioun, Dr. Nowell, and the apotecarye.

In the summer of 1596, Sir Richard Barkley has succeeded Sir Drew Drury; but there is yet no sign of coming change for the prisoner. The schoolmaster still receives his salary; and it is to be regretted that his name and the course of tuition he adopted have not found their way into these mournful accounts. Two things he certainly taught him well, viz. to write a clear, bold handwriting, and to compose his letters in a florid, sentimental, humble style, that would have excited great wonder amongst the gentlemen of Munster, who knew something more of Earls of Desmond than was known to the teacher or his pupil.

The last bill extant concerning this tower nursling is sent in by another new Lieutenant, Sir John Peyton, in the summer of 1599, in which the last items are as usual the surgioun's &c.

The following prodigious physic bill was delivered on the 12th day of June 1596, and the reader may judge how unfitted for active service in the wilds of Munster, was the poor patient who, from day to day, required comfortable plaisters for his stomack, item for his side, perfumes for his ears and nostrils, acorns and barberries for a stitch, besides the swallowing of such a fearful catalogue of doses. In fact, as he increased in years all the infirm members of his poor crazy frame required increasing stimulants, laxatives, quilts, perfumes, and plaisters; so that the bills grew in stature as he grew, till at last there was produced a voluminous roll of drugs such as it would seem the united shops of Mr. John Roberts and Mr. John Fethergill must have been in requisition to supply.

How he escaped living from the hands of these gentlemen

is surprising, and how his schoolmaster failed to whisper to him one line of warning with which he was doubtless familiar, is surprising too !

"Hos necat afflatu, funesta hos tabe veneni."

"To Mr. Fitz Geralt.

the 12th daye of June, 1596.

	s.	d.
Imprimis A pourgation with Syrop of Angonstome and others	iiij	
Syrops for vij morninges	v	
A Bolus of Cassia and Rubarb	v	
A laxative powlder for ij doses	iiij	
A Plaister for the Backe	v	
A Linymtent for the Syde, con. iiij oz.	ij	
A Quilte for the hedd	vj	vij
A coolynge Oyntmente con. iij oz.		xij
A coole Julep to take at all tymes	v	
Syrop of Vyletts and limons demild	iiij	
A Quilte for the backe	v	
Laxative cihrans compounded with Rubarb iiij <i>ld</i>	vj	
For iij Cordyall Drinkes with bezar	iiij	
Cinnamon water a pynt	v	
Aqua Cœlestis a pint	x	
Consurve of barbery's and others	iiij	iii
Consurve of Roses	iiij	
The Julep as before	v	
A Compound Syrop &c.	iiij	
Acornes and barbery's for a Stitch		vj
A compound electuary to take at morning con. 7 ld.	v	
Soundry distilled waters with Syrop of Vyletts and limons containing a pottle	v	iiij
Another pourgation with rubarbe	iiij	
Sewger-Candy a Quaterne		x
Manor Christi iiij oz.	iiij	
The Julep agayne as before	v	
Another coulde oyntmente con iiij oz.	ii	
The cordyall drinke agayne as before	iiij	
Syrop of Vyletts iiij oz.	ij	
A box of perfume for theares		vj
A bolus of Cassia and Rubarbe	iiij	
An aperitive Julep for the Lyver		v
Pills for hedd and stomack for soundry tymes		v
Diaphalma 3 iiij		xvj
Syrop of Vyletts and lemons to take every morning con viij oz.	iiij	
Consurve of Waterlillyes, of Vylets, and of Borax for soundry tymes contayninge vj ouz.	iiij	
A Julep to drinke after the consurve	iiij	

A fomentacon for the syde	v
A compound oyntmente for the same	iij
A Bathe contayninge may ingredients	x
An Aperitive to take yt at all tymes	v
Another box of pfume as before	vj
A plaster for the stomach	v
A pfume for the hedd	
A laxative drincke for soundry tymes	
An electuary to take in the mornynge	
A syrup to drincke after yt	
Rubarb to stepe in a drinck	
A drinck for the Rubarbe	
A Glister	
A fomentacon for the Stomack	iiiij
A confortable oyntmente for the stomach	iij
An oyntment for the hedd	iiiij
A powder for the same	v
An lixivium for the same	v
An oyle for theares	v
A Quilte for the hedd	v
A perfume to ayer the same	iij
Another Glister	v
Aperitive syrops for v mornynges	v
A pourgation with Rubarbe and manna	v
Losangis for the head, stomach and backe jld	x
A confortable powder to be taken before meate	v
A Julep to take at all tymes	v

Summa totalis xiiij*l.* xvjs. vjd.

I receaved all theis things above written according unto the severall particulers,

J. FitzGerald,

William Burghley

Buckehurst

Ro : Cecyll.

The letters written by this young Tower Earl to the wily statesman who eventually set him at liberty; by the persons placed as guardians and spies about him; and by Cecyll to Carewe concerning him, are now laid before the reader, and will enable him to perceive that the cunning of these crafty men was a less trusty guide than the instinct of their mistress.

* These prices are not visible owing to the folding and fraying of the paper.

*"From James Fitz Gerald in the Tower of London, to the Right Hon.
Sir R. Cecyll.*

"Honorable Sr

"Let it not be offensiu, I besech you, to be troubled with the lynes of an unknowne stranger, who though yong in years, yet being old in miserye is taught therby to apprehend any meanes of favour whersoever vertue may move compassion. My hard fortune and my faulterlessness I hope ar nether unknowne unto you ; howe only by being born the unfortunate sone of a faulty father, I have since my infancy never breathed out of prisene,—the only hellish torment to a faithfull hart to be houlden in suspect, when it never thought upon offence,—the favour and comfort which I have alwaise receyved from my especiall good Lord yor father, hath, (I verily thinke,) ben the preserver of my sorrowfull lyfe, which er this would els have pyned away with grief. And nowe in his Lordship's absence I am therfore inbouldned to solicit yor Honor, as a worthy branch of soe true, noble, and verteous a stocke ; hoping to find the same favorable inclination towards me which his Lo : hath alwaise shewed. Lett me then humbly intreat and obtain att yor Hos handes to further my humble request which I shall this day make unto yor honorable assembly at the Counsell table, and soe far as itt shall be thought resonable and convenient to lett it be comended to Her Matie. If you shall afford me any favour heerin, soe furr as so unhappy a man shall be able to doe you service, assure yourself to have made a purchase of a most faithfull and thankfull hart. Thus praying for the preservation of yor health, and daily increase of Honor, I humbly take my leave.

"Yor Honor's ever to comand

"James Fitz Gerald.

"From the Towre
"this xvij of June 1593."

Alas ! the hands upon the political dial pointed not yet to liberty : this letter, plaintive and touching as it is, availed the writer nothing ! What the request presented with it to the Privy Council was, we know not. It is not likely to have been for permission to return to his native land, for every spark of national affection had long since become extinct in him. It was probably for some little glimpse of freedom ; but scarcely so much as the license to go out from that dreary Tower. It is dated in June, 1593 : unfortunately the Tower bills for that year are not preserved, or perchance we might find the letter simultaneous with one of the frequent changes of his keepers ; the appointment of some one with little patience for the melancholy humours of the poor helpless invalid.

Seven more long years were to pass away, youth was to ripen to manhood, before hope should enter into the cell in which his miserable life was pining away. He wrote no more letters, as far as we know, during that time; but the blunder of one of the shrewdest men of his age befriended him. Sir George Carewe was about to undertake the government of Munster, and the extinction of another Desmond rebellion; and the good genius of the captive deluded that crafty bad man with a dream that the pallid face, the mild eye of young Fitz Gerald would at once calm the stormy ocean of Irish politics. He proposed to Cecyll, as we have seen, to take him from his prison, to restore him in blood, change Mr. James Garrollde into the Earl of Desmond, and send him into Munster. Cecyll shrank from making such a proposal to the Queen; and when it was at last made, Elizabeth emphatically refused to consent to it. Carewe went to Ireland, and there encountered difficulties greater even than he had expected, and he then wrote to urge the reconsideration of his proposal.

"Ld. President Carewe to Cecyll.

"Whoso knoweth this kingdome and the people will confesse that to conquer the same and them by the sword onlie is opus laboris, and almost may be said to be impossible,—and I do uerylie beleve that all the treasure of England wilbe consumed in that worke except other additions of helpe be ministred unto ytt. The fayre way that I am in towardes the finishinge of the heauye taske wch I undergoe I am affrayd wil receyue some speedye and rougue impediment, unlesse my aduice in sendinge of the yonge Desmond hether may be followed. The good wch by his presence wilbe effected hath bene by me so often declared as I holdeyyt needlesse to trouble yow wth reiterations of the same; the danger that may ensue if he should proue a traitor (wch I suppose to be the motiue of his detention) is no more then the malice of a weake rebell, who can never be so great by reason of his education, wch hath bene in simplicite unaccustomed to action, together wth his religion,—as this countrefaict Earle,* nourished in villanie and treasons, and the greatest pillar (Tyrone excepted) that euer the Pope had in this kingdome,—and farther, if this traytor were taken or slayne, yet the rebellion is not ended; for these Mounster rebels will establishe another Robin Hood in his roome, and so in sequence, as longe as there is a Geraldine in Ireland. As sone as the bruict was divulged that he shoulde be sent unto me, I found such an alac-

* James Fitz Thomas, the Sungan Earl of Desmond.

ritye in his followers as an immediate sighte of a present quiet did represent ytselv unto me.

"Sir beleue me all the perswasions in the world will not preuyale to induce them to serue against James McThomas, much lesse to do anythings upon his person, before they see his face.

"If God be pleased, for the good of this country, to direct her Maties counsayles to send him hether, I do humblye beseche yow to moue her that he may come (or not at al) as a free man, wthout any marke of a prisoner,—and that he may enioy the name and tytle of an Earle. What land is most conuenient for him to have, and least dangerous if he shoule be ill disposed, I haue heretofore at large deliuered my opinion; and also how easie it is to prevent any harme he may do if he be enclined to do ill.

"Geo. Carewe."

No doubt State secrets are always well kept. Ministers and their secretaries are all honourable and discreet gentlemen; but the fact is undeniable that men will know, and seldom fail to know, what concerns themselves, or greatly moves their curiosity. As early as 1598, when Carewe was first called upon by Cecyll to advise him upon the subject of Ireland, the secret of the proposal to liberate the young Desmond had in some unaccountable manner transpired. The air of the Minister's Cabinet vibrated with the earnest tones of Carewe, the doubtful accents of Cecyll, and when the doors were thrown open, and those two profound statesmen passed forth, those vibrations floated outward with them, and as "the five winds served" they were borne whither Carewe and his friend would have had little pleasure in following them—namely, to the camp of O'Neill! They arrived indeed curiously travestied, and would seem from the speeches of the Irish chieftain, reported by Fenton to Cecyll, to have travelled to Spain before they reached him.

O'Neill openly declares to his friends:—

"I do assure you all upon my creditt and as I wold haue yo hereafter to beleeve me and be directed by me that th Erle of Desmonde sonne is escaped out of the Tower of London by meanes of the Liefent of the Tower's daughter, who is gonn wth him, and arryved in Spaine, where they had such acceptanc and entertainemt as seldome hath ben hard of tobe in that kingdome afforded to a man of his yeers; and further I do assure you that before a monneth do pass, yf wynd and weather do serue, wilbe in Mounster wth great forces both of men municion and treasure; the lyke whereof I do expect, wth assurance to myself, and therefore comforde yo selves."

The last bill for diet, &c. of Mr. Garrolde, included the feast of the Nativitie of St. John the Baptist, 1600.

The royal presentiments gave way at last before the repeated solicitations of Carewe and the advice of Cecyll, and there burst suddenly into the prisoner's cell a flood of sunshine, such as might have played about his cradle, or shone upon him once from "the divine eyes" of his royal Godmother, but such as he could have neither remembrance nor conception of. The prisoner was made free! and carefully, as such a fragile vessel required, he was removed to the house of Dr. Nowell. Now commenced a political education, correspondence with the minister, interviews with some eager Irish friends, and the expression of simple hopes that he should shortly do something to show his immense gratitude for—her Majesty's adoption of her minister's scheme for subduing Munster! His second letter bears a new signature, one that was hateful to Elizabeth, as it had been to the kings of England, at frequent intervals, for 400 years.

Earl of Desmond to Cecyll.

Right Honrable I have receued this morninge by John Power certayne letters foorth of Ireland, wch in regard that you maye see by these advertisments what benefitt may growe unto her Highnes' seruice, and what obstackles to the contrary, I thought fitt to have presented unto you, towthose consideration referring it and myselfe, I rest.

"from my lodginge in all humblenes

"this 7h of Septr. 1600.

"Your Honor's in uery much assuraunce

"Desmond.

"Such horses as your Honor appointed I should be presently furnished wth, I am as yet unfurnished of. Attendinge whatsoeuer directions it shall stand wth your honorable discretion."

"Desmond to Cecyll.

"It maye please yor Honor, one Mr John Crosbye being a membre of the church hathe bene especially recommendid untome by some of my best freinds in Irland to be for his lief and living bothe honest and sufficient touching his religion and otherwise; whereby I am pswadid that he is one well hable to serve her Matie in Mounster, and to stand me in good steed; therefore I humbly beseeche your Honor to be a meane that her Matie will bestowe on him the poor Bishoprick of Keiry, being nowe voided, wch although it be a thing of smale or no value at this pte, yett I hope in tyme it

maye be some help of living unto him ; for wch, and for all other
yor most honorable and kynd favors

“ I am and wilbe ever

“ your Honor’s most bounden

“ Desmond.

“ At my lodging

“ the 18th of Septr. 1600.”

The reader has seen that it was no part of Carewe’s plan that the young Earl should come into Ireland otherwise than as “ a free man, and without any mark of a prisoner.” Queen Elizabeth had yielded to the solicitations of the English minister and the Irish President so far as to consent to his being sent into Munster, but with how great misgiving, with how much of real freedom, and with what resources for rendering respected the grand title that he bore, the reader will learn from the next few letters of Sir Robert Cecyll. The despatch now first following admirably depicts the state of excitement into which the forebodings of the Queen, and her final consent had thrown him. Had he been announcing the intention of “ Her sacred Majesty” herself to visit Ireland, he could scarcely have heralded her approach more pompously. Had this notable scheme already failed, and the new Earl turned out as “ malicious a rebel ” as his father, his caution to Carewe would have scarcely needed to be more significant.

“ *Cecyll to Carewe.*

“ Nowe is the hour come that you shall receave the pson of the Earle of Desmonde, soe called here by courtesye alredie, and soe resolued by hir Matie to bee, as maie appeare by the pattent you receave; onlye this is the dyfference, that her Matie will see som imprest of other mens promises before she give him plenary satisfacion ; wherein I pteste unto you noe one thinge hathe made him more to sticke them the doubt wch she hath that there wilbe noethinge don for him worthie of soe greate a favour. For the matter I must owne and speake to you my opinyon, yt you and I have made a greate adventure to presse and importune for a thinge soe subiect to illsuccesse, in a tyme when most thinges are iudged by effect, and shall especially be applyed untoe us ; because the mallice of som and the ignorauance of others have taught them this odd sentense to hinder any thinge (they wold not have, or understand not,) by saying, ‘ Yea butt he maie proove a rebell hearafter.’ I pracie you thearfor when you have him, take this counsayl of me ; whensoever you fynd any cause too doubt him, never feare too laie

holde of him, for therin we will never blame you, butt we will take
yt fora thinge that was necessarie, quoniam ipse dixit.

“ Robt. Cecyll.

“ Septr. 24, 1600.”

“ Cecyll to Carewe.

“ You must knowe that notwithstandinge all the poore credytt I had I cold not dissuade her Matie from deferryng to signe Desmonds patent, although I did laye before her houe infinit advaantage and oportunitie wold be loste ; but yt pleased her to bee stille fyxed that she wold see somthinge effected before she did absolutelie give him the title : still layinge before me what a scorne she shold receave yf he shold effect nothinge ; and then Tyrone might lauge at her doble, as he hath don alredy att the goinge in of Sir Arthur O'Neill, whome he called ‘ Queen Elizabeth’s Earle that cannot comaund a hundred kern.’ ”

“ Robt. Cecyll.

“ Septr. 28, 1600.”

“ Earl of Desmond to Cecyll.

“ Rt. Honorable. Here is a scoller and a preacher, one Mr Edward Hargrave that is desirous tobe my chaplayne, and to receave the protection of that dignitie wch her Highness in her mercy hath allowed me. I beseeach you in my absence that he maye receave that benifite and acknowledgment, and I, in the loue that I am ever bound to you, will acknowledge it, and so I take my leaue.

“ From Coldbrooke this 28 Sept. 1600.

“ Yr Honor’s ever assured

“ Desmond.”

“ P.S. This letter I was lothe to write, because I know not what exception might be taken, in regard I had not my pattent ; neither could I tell howe to put it of, in regard I was urged by my very good frend Mr Blount, except I should discouer that wch your Honor wished me to conceale, therefore I thought good to aduertise your Honor, whom I beseech to answer anie re-construction (if there be anie made of it) and tobe favourable to this bearer, according to the nature he desireth to serve me, and who is ignorant of this postscript.

Memorandum by Sir Robert Cecyll :—

“ A note of ye somes that have ben delivered by me to the E of Desmonds use.

“ One cli to Mr Lieutenant when he was first dyscharged out of ye Tower, whereupon himselfe and his followers lyvid at Do: Nowel’s.

“ One other cli delyvered to himselfe in the presence of Captn

Pryce at my house at ye Savoy for ye provyding of armor and apparell, and necessaryes for the sending away his nurse and syster.

" Ten pounds delyvered him at ye Court.

" One c and iiiijxxli delyvered to Capen Pryce for his charges to into Ireland.

" Twenty Pounds deld. to Moryce Shehan for his use.

" Ten Pounds to ye Bp of Cashell.

" Thirty Pounds to John Poore."

The following memoranda would appear to have been the basis of a series of sermons, which either Cecyll intended himself to compose for the guidance of the Earl, or which Captain Price or the Bishop of Cashel was to preach to him as opportunity might offer. Article No. 4 of these instructions was a delicate proof of the growing confidence of the minister in his pupil, and article No. 5, certainly an important one for an Earl of Desmond with £500 per annum, and we can scarcely be surprised that to enlighten him as to the amount of magnificence that could be exhibited for the money, several cautions were to be given to him.

" For the Earl of Desmond.

" 1 Touchinge his dysposinge in marriage.

" 2 Touchinge his servants and retinewe.

" 3 That he contayne himselfe moderate in matters of religion, &c.

" 4 That he at his first cominge do fashion himselfe in some convenient measure agreeable to the Irish nacion.

" 5 Several cautyons for the frugall management of his estate.

" 6 Particular admonitions to hold himselfe humble, gratefull and loyall towardes her Matie.

" 7 Priuate instrucns for his present and future course of lyfe in general and in pticular for his correspondence, and his dependencye here and in Ireland."

" *Captain John Prise to Cecyll*

" Rt. Honble. Upon Tuesdaie, being the thirtieth of Septr. I came with my L unto Bristol: At my cominge I went into Mr Mayor whoe provided a house, where my Lo is lodged in, accordinge to my instrucns, wch I was very gladd Your Ho. had soe sett it downe, for that hee hath here above 30 psons followinge him, besides fyve horses. Whereupon I tould his Lordshipp that I was to goe noe further then your Honor's instructions, unto which hee was very willinge to followe, and the rest lyeth upon his owne charge. Alsoe I dealt with Mr Mayor aboute a barque wch wee have provided ready; when it shall please God to send wynde. Yesternighte beinge the 1st of October, when wee weare at supper there came

one in to my Lord whoe certified us that hee came out of one of the shippes wch was appoynted to carry souldiers over to Ireland, and that they being some sixe daies at sea, and neare the coast of Ireland were by fowle weather dryvin backe into Bristoll againe, except one shippe, wch by reason of the tempest, was dispersed from them, soe that this daye all the souldiers are landed at Bristoll againe. And soe I humbly take my leave praieng tothe Almighty for your honourable successe.

" Yr honor most humbly to

" commande in all service

" Bristoll this 2d Oct. 1600.

" John Prise."

" The Earl of Desmōnd to Cecyll.

" Right Honorable. I am nowe come tothe place that your Honour desired for my sooner transportinge for Ireland, where I am to entreatre yr Honour in that greate measure of yr undeserved favour you will not lett me noue sinke, cominge, as I dayly pray for, neere to that fruiition wch will satisfie the exspectation of hir Matie and yr Honors, and dischardge the duetie of that loyalty wch nothing shall have ever power to alter. Captayne Price shewed me yr Honor's order, to wch I have, and ever will submitt myelfe, but the overplus of my retinewe is soome thirteene more, wch God is my wittness I tooke not for vayne gloryes sake, but that the world should see the title wch hir Highnes did affoord me was not so naked but that it had attendaunce in soome sorte answerable; besides I am certaynely informed that the best men of Mounster in this prime of my sun shininge fortune (through her Maties extraordinary bounty) wilbe glad to were my clothe, that halfe a yeaer hence will not altogether be so fond of it. Some fewe horses my frends have affoorded me to the number of five, wch I thought good to acquaint you wth, as he to whom I must address my whole selfe, and they tell me I have very great neede to carry saddells over, wch are not there to be had; these are not idell expences, and though it may be opposed that it is not fitt her Matie should be at such a chardge upon an uncertaynety, yet let the consequence of this imployment be examined, and it wilbe found matters of less note more chardgeable; I refer myselfe to yr Honor's consideration, and these, Honorable Sr, are the tokens of your vertues speritt to strenthen those defects that maye hinder the seruices, as myselfe hath nowe no meanes to supply the chardge of these things, and by you must they nowe be upheld, upon whom retourneth the actions of my best and deerest seruices, to whom I committ my selfe and them.

" From Bristowe

" this second of Octr. 1600. Yr Honor'r euer unfaynedly

" Desmond.

" Patricke Arthur is retourned wth the soldiers, wch I thought fitt to acquaint yr honor wth, because of yr determination that they

should attende upon me, who are nowe to attend your directions. I beeseech yr Honor to hasten awaye my Lord Archbishop and Patricke Crosby."

Price to Cecyll.

" My humble dutie to yr Ho remembred,—yt maye please the same to be adurised thatt I have receyved by the hands of Mr. Mayor yur honoruable lres of the firste of this moneth together wth the pacquett this 3d of Octobre at xij o'clock in the aftrenone; and as for the shipping wherein the soldiers wth Cap Aurthur were to passe, they were retorne hither yesterdaye by contrary wynds; the wch I have at lardge certyfied to yor honor yesterdaye at xij o'clock by the poste, I have, according yor honor's directions delywred yor comendacens to the Earle, and wthall acquaynted him thatt his patent was signed, and wilbe sent by the Arch-bishop; for the wch he reioyceth so much thatt he wyshed himself att thatt instant to be in Irelond, whereby he myght manifest his willingnes to further her Mats seruice; and although he knoweth the Lo Bushop hath don his indevors to bring this patent to be signed, for wch he semeth to be moch beholding, yett he resteth altogether upon yor honor as the onely scetancor (sheet anchor) and patron to work this happines unto him, for wch he voweth to be ewyor's, and at yor command. I will have great care thatt no blast of servyseable wynd be wasted, but will take the comodite of the first, and therle is as willing also to be gon. I will delyur yor pacquett accordyng yor direction. Our ship is agreef by the Mayor and me, and caused her to fall downe fearing to be neaped.

" At the Keye the soner to be gon wth the first wynd wch nowe is at west,—I will nott have more care of the p-suacion of my lief then to followe yor honourable instructions sent me. And so most humbly taking leave I beseeach God send yor ho long life and moch happaunes.

" Yor Honores most humbly to
" comand in all things

" John Prise.

" Brustoll the iii of Octr. 1600"

Earl of Desmond to Cecyll. From Bristol.

" Right honorable. I haue receaued by Captaine Prise the advertisement of her Maties exceedinge mercy towards me, for wch, as the whole course of my life I cannot be so voyde of the understandinge of hir Princely woorthe as not still to admire the nature of her deuices that all admiration must absolutely attend uppon, and do hope that hir royll inclination doeth not impose impossibilitis; that where I shall shewe a truenes of will, and duety there, no disaster in the prooef of my allegiaunce shalbe anie

obstacle to hir published mercy. I do heere by one Cornelius Dier who landed at *blew morris*, uppon Wensday last, beeinge the 28 of Septr. (and nowe wth me at Bristowe) that James Fitz Thomas hath carried away by pollicy Cormache McDermot's sister, and coossen germanye to Florence M Carthy, albeit that he hath an other wife, wch is the Lord of the Caher's sister, that nowe is, these courses are thought to be but pacts of underhand rebellion, for wch I humbly beeseech yor honor to be a meane for unto her Matie to the further discoueringe and punishmente of it, that I maye be ioyned wth the Lord President for the takeinge in of those that will unmask these wicked concealements, and marshall lawe for the contrary that shall run the course of this reprobation. Myne owne person I feare not shall never want that desire wch shall alwaies answer the exspectation of hir Highnes, on whom, next under God, I rely uppon, and from whom the actions of my abillties have receaved life. This Cornelius is a foster brother of my sister Roches, who sent him wth this aduertisment unto me, and of his owne suffered wrongs by this Lord Roche, wch I mooued your honour for to give order unto the President that it should be redressed according to Justice and equitie, wch if you have not doon I humbly beeseech you to do, and for incouragement to Dermott OConnor, who I doubt not will behauie himselfe well in these employments, so I lease your honor's further troble.

"From Bristowe this 3d of October 1600.

"Yor Honor's, as I have professed

"and will ever continue

"Desmond."

"Desmond to Cecyll."

"Right honorable: Though none shall euer accuse me of unthankefullnes, yet I must retourne all my happines on yr honourable favours, to whom I owe all the fruition of my happinesses and yeeld the comannndment of my lifes seruices, beeseeching yor honorable kindnesses that wee may be second wth all good meanes, and I doubt not but to accomplitsh yor desire, or myne owne end, wch shall shewe the will I had to performe it, wth some direction to Captayne Price that nowe in allmost stepping into Ireland I maye not want meanes for the transportation of my men and soome fewe horses, wth humbly beeseeching you to remember Morris Shiechan's sute as before.

"Desmond."

"John Price to Cecyll."

"My humble duetie to yor hon remembrid. I have receid yor honourable lre dated the 3d of this moneth the 5th of the same at one o'clock in th afternoone, wch came in veary good time, for the yong Earle was greatly pressed upon by gent herr to recive som

of ther friends into his service, wch he reiecte as sounre as I shewed him so moch of yor honor's lre as conserned himself, for wch he gave God thanks that he had so fast a friend as would send him so freindly aduice; and for the last pte of yor lre I dealed earnestly wth him according your lre, and withal told him that if by eny of his dealings he would geve yor honor eny cause of dislike, he would then loose the freindship of yor hour, and therby loose all, to his own owthrowe; who ptested that he wilbe eur as careful to followe yor honor's aduise as of the pseruacion of his own lief. The wynd hath bene sithens owre comyng hither at west southwest, untyll this daye mornynge, to south east, and thereupon I gave directions to or shipmr to ship my Lo horsses and to drawe downe to Kingwade, wher my Lo will take shippynge. Nowe as I was to make an end of my lre the wynd changed to south west, and to a fogg; yet I have sent all pvision both for man and horsse a shipboard, to be in a readines to go wth the first wynd, wherof I ptest, as also to followe yor honor's direction in all points, I have as great care as of my lief; wch I doubt nott, when my dealing and reconyng shall com to yor honor, it shall manifestly appeare Mr. Aurthure and his shipmaster now called before the mayor and I, where I have opined unto them, according yor Honor's direction, thatt by their negligens her Maties service was greatly hindered, by staing so long in this roade that they could nott recour any harbor in Mounster, having had a north east and south east wynd, wch they have confessed to have had for one daye att ther setting out of this harbar a north east wynd, being in the chaniell they had a south east wynd, and being more then half seaes owr they were checked wth a south west wynd wth a dark fogg and tempest; wherby they were inforced to retorne hither—it is reported heore thatt one of their shippes recowred Waterford; butt they are of a contrary oppynion, so as I cannott certenly certifie thereof. I have geven straight chardge to the Mrs. and also to Mr. Aurthure to be in a readynes to sett fourth upon one houres warnyng. I haue no newes more to wrift unto yor Honor butt thatt one Mr. Pyne and Mr. Colters arryved here yesterdye who told me thatt the Lo Psident wentt on a yoney to Cary-braghe* against Florens McCartie who is in armes, so praying to Almighty God to pteect and keepe yor honor in all helth and happiness.

“ Yor honor mest humbly to

“ comand in all seies

“ John Prise.

“ Bristoll, Octr. 6, 1600.”

“ Cecyl to Carewe.

“ Ther hath been wrytten this daie from Irland certen newes of Mounster to wch I geve noe credytt untill I heer yt confyrmeyd;

* Carbery.

and yett hath one of the best consellers of yt kingdome (when he hath related ye matter) concluded wth this sentense. ' If ther were noe wieser then my selfe or that I cold have my wishe I vowe to God the yong man Desmonde shold neur see Ireland; for I feare hir Majestie, supposinge to putt downe a bad won, will raise up a wors.' The newes are in theis words—' Captayne Richard Green hath don vary good seruice of late, for he fought wth the pretended Earle of Desmond as he was marchyng into Arklow: He slew his sone and 60 of his chyftest men, wth twoe or three of the captaynes of his bonaughts, he tooke his cows, his sheepe his garrans and all his bagage; he fetched them out of the woodes, and never left followinge them untill he drowe them into Leix wth 300 rascals wth him, not havinge scarce a rag about him.' Whether this is treue or false, I knowe nott; but Sr I pracie you lettus nowe fall into this consideracon. Yf itt soe be yt James McThomas be att so lowe an ebbe whether ther be so great a piece of worke left behynd for this yong Gent, as that yt might not be don without him; and soe the honor given to your sworde and industrie, as well as toe adventuer him abroade, when yf he proov nought you knowe the pill like to ensue (wch doeth nott a littel troble me) how apt our enemyes will be to throwe uppon us (yt have ben auchtors of the counsayle) the imputacon of anie future bad successe. I pracie you therfor lettus be as wise as serpents, though we bee as symple as doues, and yf uppon his cominge over you fynde noe great taske to be don bye him, rather take a true and a wies wai and mak suer of him yt he cannot escape; and aduertis hither what you thinke: for take this from me upon my life, that whatsoeuer you doe to abridge him, wch you shall saie to be don out of providense, shall never be ymputed to you as a fault, butt exceedingelie comended bythe Queene for God doeth knowe yt the Queen hath ben the most hardliedrawen unto yt yt cold be, and hath layde yt in my dysh a duson tymes. ' Well I pracie God you and Carewe be not decaued.' Besides Sr, yt shalbe an easie matter for you to coller whatsoeuer you shall doe in that kynde by this cours. You maie ether apostate sombodye to seke to withdrawe him, who maie betraie him to you; or, rather then fayle ther maie be som founde out ther to accuse him, and it maie be snffcient reson for you to remand him, or toe restrayne him. First I see won thinge yt a meane fortune will never contente him, wth wch disposition assuer your selfe the Queen will not be mutch pleased; next he is in nature proude, and yf he ever shold be suffered to meddell wth ye undertaker's lands his teeth will water till he have devoured them all. I confesse everie perill nowe obiects ytselv to my senses, and for no reson more then when I contemplayte what a vexacon yt wilbe when our own accons are efficients of after re-pentence, in a tyme when no iudgment is made but bye the successe. Still remember what I say unto you. Blame shall never betyde

you for anie cautions (howe curyous soever) in the manageinge of this Puer male Cinctus.*

" From my Lodging at the Savoy,

" Octr. 8, 1600."

" ROBT. CECYL."

The reader unacquainted with the peculiar notions of morality entertained by this great English statesman may be reluctant to affix to "the Curious Cautions" mentioned in this letter such interpretation as the ingenious suggestion of the "Apostating somebody to seek to withdraw him," would seem to make the most obvious. He may prefer to understand the expression as advice to Carewe to take care that the Archbishop of Cashel should urge with untiring repetition upon this Puer male Cinetus the sixth article of the lectures; this interpretation may be correct, and will certainly be charitable. Such a reader is in the fittest possible state of mind for the perusal of much more of the confidential correspondence of these two friends: The rumour that had reached England of the good service of Captain Richard Green, and of the total defeat of the Sugan Earl was true; the Queen's Earl of Desmond could now be of no possible use in Ireland; he might be mischievous if indeed "his teeth had already begun to water for the lands of the undertakers;" and it is a curious trait in the character of Cecyll that he should have preferred, to the simple expedient of recalling Captain Price and his charge to London, the shadowing out to Carewe of the curious cautions to be taken with him, the first moment that he should give cause for suspicion. Had he stopped the journey of the Earl at Bristol the loss would have been little either to the traveller or to Ireland; but had the President of Munster misunderstood the meaning of his despatch, Cecyll might have had to return to the same page which had furnished him with the warning words of Sulla, in search for a fitting phrase with which, in his future

* Nec ut unquam aliter quam super eum cingeretur (latus Clavus) et quidem fluxiore cinctura. Unde emanasse Sulla dictum, optimates sepius admonentis, "ut male praecinctum puerum caverent." —(Suetonius.) Neither to Sulla nor to the Optimates did Julius Cæsar cause a tithe of the uneasiness that James FitzGerald caused to Cecyll.

epistles to his friend, classically to mourn over the untoward demise of the modern Caesar.

"Price to Cecyll."

"Right honorable. I have this daye at 10 a'clock in the forenone receved Yor Honr's lres of the 9th of this psent, together wth lres to the Lo. Psident, wch God willing shalbe deliued unto his owne hands, whereof I will be careful; I have dispatched all things here, and caused the ship wherein we go to fall down to Kings road 5 miles from Brustowe so as wthin an houres warnyng we will take saile wth the first wynd, wch I greatly long for. My staye here a dayise longer to me then a yeaire; the wynd is south south west, and veary dark wether by reason of fogg and rayne, some time to south south east for iij. or iiiij. houres, the Mr. of the barke dare nott venter to go this dark wether untill it brake up somewhett cleerer, and will answer for his lief thatt he shall loose no houre of eny convenient time or wynd. I have deliued yor Ho. comendacons to th Earle who humbly thanketh yor hon. and is very glad to heer of the good newes yor hon. wrott, yet he saith that he hopeth wthin feawe dayes after his arryvall in Irland to send unto yor hon. better. So beseeching almighty God to keepe and pserve yor hon. in all helth and happiness. I humbly take leave.

"Brustoll, the x of October, 1600.

"JOHN PRISE.

"The ship wth the soldiers thatt was dispersed, wch was thought to be at Waterfoud, is nowe at Milfoud, whereof I had suer newes. My Lo. Archbushop and Mr. Crosby came hither a Wednesday last."

"Desmond to Cecyll."

Right honorable. I knowe not in what measure of thankefullnes I maye give you thanks, because infinitly haue you tied me; and my endeours to your comandment shall never be finit; what errors the greenes of my youth maye committ will rather growe through ignorauance of this worlds carriage then anie thought or imagination of willfullnes to offend; and I do assure my selfe in the woorthines of yor nature, You will hold them as escapes, then as settled determinations to followe or continu in. But howe can I beare my selfe in the height of these admirable fauours wch his Highnes has imposed upon me, that I shall not eur disclayme from merit, and coome short of yeilding anie reasonable satisfaction to that sacred majestie which the period of my lifes endinge cannot satisfie? only alegiaunce and dutie are the pledges of my humillyty, that the conscience of an honest hart upon such suerties will neur lett a forseyture indamage. And You Honourable Sr be my organ that maye alwaiies sound in hir highnes eares the yeildinge tribute of my loyalty, that will not receave anie shadow of disobedience, nor to your Honor anie unconformity of yor disposinge. And so ready to set

sayle wth the next wynde wch I ernestly long for, and humbly thanking yor Honor for your care of defrayinge the chardge of my horses, hopeinge by my next letter to aduertiss you of my arrivall at Corke. I take my leaue this xii. October, 1600.

"Yr Honors euer bounden,

" DESMOND.

"I humbly thank Yor Honor for yor good newes. I hope shortly to send you better. Captayne Price hath made all things reddy here, and desires to be gon, and I protest I do the like."

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*Hermæ Pastor. Æthiopice primum edidit et Æthiopica Latine vertit Antonius d'Abbadie.* Lipsiae, 1861.

We are compelled by want of space most reluctantly to reserve our notice of this important publication, which is but one of M. d'Abbadie's many contributions to the literature of the Abyssinian church. We hope to connect with it in our next number a detailed account of the literature of Abyssinia, as described by M. d'Abbadie. It is deeply interesting in a religious point of view.

II.—*A Vindication of the Duke of Modena from the Charges of Mr. Gladstone*, from Official Documents and other Authentic Sources, selected and revised, with an Introduction by the Marquis of Normanby, K.G. London : Bosworth and Harrison, 1861.

To attack, to slander, to lie is an easy task. It only requires audacity coupled with a rapid and unscrupulous tongue and a fit audience. But to vindicate the cause attacked, to rebut the slander, and to unmask the lie is a work of time and difficulty. It costs labour and research. And the vindication at last often fails in its purpose, because it comes too late. The lie is rapid, the truth is slow. The telegram, the special correspondent, the Prime Minister of Turin, or a Cabinet Minister in England, fabricate or father a falsehood, and it speeds on to the ends of the earth. Yet truth though slow is strong, and must ultimately penetrate into the mind and heart of a truth-loving people.

Relying on this conviction, Lord Normanby, in the

pamphlet which he has just published, has endeavoured to stem the tide of falsehood and calumny which has up to this moment overborne all resistance. He has appealed, and let us hope not in vain, to the fair spirit and sober judgment of reflecting and independent men against the thoughtless clamour of the noisy politician, and against the prejudice and passions of the revolutionary partisan. In his vindication of the Duke of Modena from the charges of Mr. Gladstone, he produces documentary evidence to show that the statements enforced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with unctuous rhetoric and solemn declamation on the House of Commons were utterly without foundation, and that by far the gravest accusation was not borne out even by the work from which he quoted, and from which he has learned his revolutionary lesson. With singular want of penetration and judgment of character Mr. Gladstone had accepted, as trustworthy evidence against the Duke of Modena, a compilation of documents, drafts of laws, memoranda, and private letters, of a most suspicious character furnished by Doctor Farini, who ransacked the public archives and purloined confidential papers from the Duke's private bureau, in order if possible to find proof for his accusation in the House of Commons. In his attack against the Duke, Mr. Gladstone made more than a free use of these suspicious documents. He went beyond his text.

Not only is Mr. Gladstone guilty of the un-English habit of attacking a fallen and unfortunate prince, but, when as in his correspondence with Lord Normanby, he is driven from point to point, and the ground on which he had taken his stand is cut from beneath his feet, he is so wanting in candour and manliness as to evade Lord Normanby's demand to retract in the House of Commons the accusation which he was no longer able to maintain. If he had valued truth and justice more than political partisanship or personal vanity, he would not have sought to have covered his defeat by making fresh charges against the Duke of Modena from the same impure and tainted sources. His letters are evasive and shuffling in the extreme; they indeed exhibit "the contortions of the Sybil without its inspiration." But it is not Mr. Gladstone alone, the national character suffers from this want of truthfulness, from this unreality in describing events which has been introduced by this sad Italian revolution and its agents, the anonymous

correspondents of newspapers. Words are losing their proper signification. Grave men, in speaking of the state of Naples, make use of terms which they know to be false. Soldiers fighting for their king and country against a foreign invader,—peasants in arms in defence of their priests and of their church, against the violators of the sanctuary, are called robbers and brigands. A war for the dearest and the holiest interests of a nation is described as a trade pursued for the love of pillage, and out of an inhuman thirst for blood. The ignominy of a felon is attached to the name of the royalist soldier, and to the peasant faithful to his king. The character of a whole people is maligned and blackened by the foul imputation. We all know that such a description of the royalist war in Naples, whether used by the press or by Ministers of State is a strange and unwarrantable perversion of language. We all know that it is done for a purpose. We also know that love of king and country is still regarded in England as a virtue, and that English history is filled with glorious examples of a loyalty that braved death and exile for this noble principle, and that English hearts kindle again at the bare recital. It is in order to stifle sympathy with the Neapolitans in their death-struggle against the foreign invader of their hearths and homes that they are termed blood-thirsty brigands and robbers.

To crush brigands is it necessary that sixty thousand Piedmontese soldiers should be poured into the valleys and cities of Southern Italy? To hunt down robbers is it necessary to burn cities, to butcher their inhabitants in cold blood, or to force innocent women and children to perish in the flames of their burning homes? Are Neapolitan priests, men of ability and character, beloved by their people, (according to the testimony of a Protestant clergyman on the spot,) to be shot in cold blood, as at Caserta a few weeks ago, in order to put down brigandage? "The officer who commanded the Piedmontese soldiers on this occasion," writes the clergyman alluded to above, "when remonstrated with by the populace for the cruelty of this proceeding, ordered his men to fire upon the followers of Francis! This was done. A woman with a child at her breast was killed, and three other persons seriously wounded."

"You will be astounded," the writer continues, "to hear how fearful are the sufferings of those who are suspected of sympathising

with the King of Naples, and desire his return . . . many members of families of the highest classes—including women—are walked off to prison upon no charge whatever, without any examination, and with no prospect of being released. . . . The prisons are full of suspected favourers of their lawful king. . . . If the English people were not so utterly deluded by the newspaper statements and telegrams—many of which are manufactured by the Piedmontese officials in order to mislead our nation—it would be impossible that they would morally sanction the fearful state of anarchy and cruelty which at present obtains."

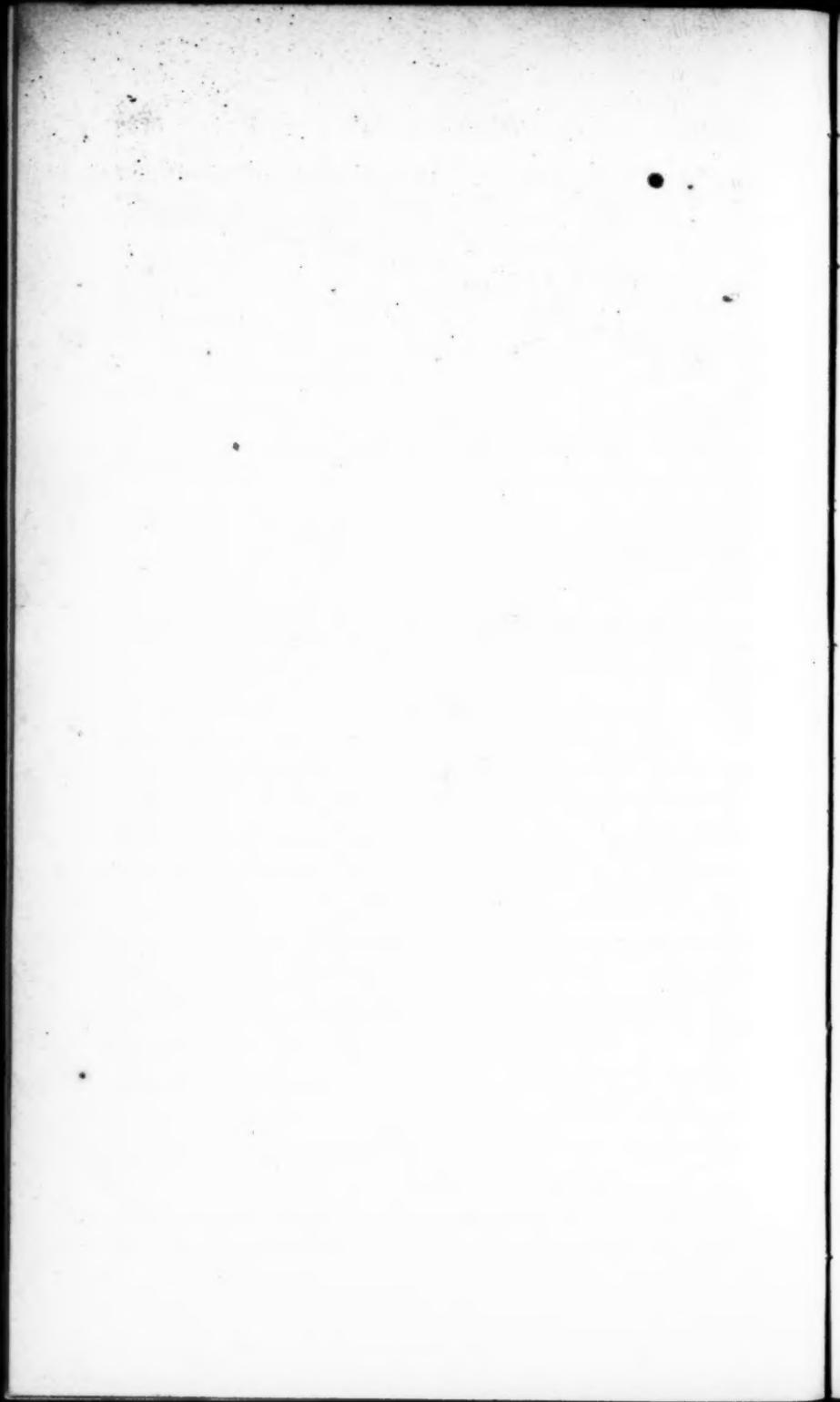
We regret our limited space forbids us to give this interesting letter in extenso, we must refer our readers to the pamphlet.

"Is it possible," asks Lord Normanby, "that Lord Palmerston is in ignorance that at this moment there are more than 10,000 persons in the prisons in the kingdom of Naples for political causes; that in the last six months there have perished by military execution 617 people, whereas a work published at Bologna, called 'Il Martirologio,' makes it an accusation against the Italian rulers that in fifty-four years in the kingdom of Naples 333 people had been executed by sentence of a regular government—333 in fifty-four years, 617 in six months!! Does Lord Palmerston any longer wonder that they want least of all such a change as he would bring."!!

Yet Lord Palmerston, who in the House of Commons never failed to hound on Cialdini and the blood-thirsty Pinelli in their savage work of extermination, knew very well that they whom he termed "infamous wretches and brigands," were soldiers fighting faithfully for their king. Is such perversion of facts honourable in a minister of the crown? How long is it to be tolerated? "There is no form," says Lord Normanby, "in which the perversion of the truth is so mischievous as in the mouth of a British minister, who profiting by the credit which belongs to that character, misrepresents facts, the knowledge of which he is supposed to derive from his official position."

With a directness of purpose and a persevering energy, which cannot be too much admired, Lord Normanby is battling almost alone in support of truth of statement against an all but universal perversion of public and notorious facts. It were to be wished that the millions of Catholics in Europe had but a portion of his energy and disinterestedness. We are not so romantic as to suppose that the friends of the Papacy will display half the zeal

manifested by its enemies. The good are too often supine. But under present circumstances supineness is a crime. Can nothing but self-interest sting and spur men into energy? We know that a breach of a Galway contract has made politicians bold, and nearly cost a Whig minister his supremacy. Can the need of the church and the voice of the Pope not do as much now? The Pope has not to fear the Jews of Germany, the Protestants of England, or the infidels of Italy, so much as the intense selfishness and cowardice of the Catholic millions of Europe. If the temporal power be lost to the Pope, it will be lost not indeed by the active co-operation but by the passive and guilty acquiescence of Catholic Europe in the results of the Revolution.



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